The Fifteenth-Century Re-invention of Nepalese Buddhism

Will Douglas, Wolfson College

D.Phil. thesis, Trinity Term 2002

For

Peter and Ioan

Acknowledgements

Many people have helped me discover, understand and write this thesis. I would like to thank them all, and regret that some of them are not listed here: Michael Aris, Anthony Aris, James Benson, Martin Boord, Lance Cousins, Raymond Douglas, Rebecca Douglas, Tanglewest Douglas, Ashley Drees, Gillian Evison, David Gellner, Richard Gombrich, Paul Griffiths, Michael Hutt, Harunaga Isaacson, Craig Jamieson, Viv Kendon, Marianna Kropf, Rici Lake, Jerry Losty, Anne MacDonald, Annabel Mehta, Isabelle Onians, Bruce Owens, Karma Phuntsho, Michael Pollock, Vandana Prapanna, Bill Pruitt, Charles Ramble, Peter Roberts, Alex von Rospatt, Geoffery Samuel, Alexis Sanderson, Greg Sharkey, Andrew Skilton, Gene Smith, TACHIKAWA Musashi, TAKAOKA Shuchuo, Bhāvanā Devī Tulādhar, Nirmal Man Tulādhar, Shravan Ratna Tulādhar, Subarna Man Tulādhar, Hemraj Sakya, Min Bahadur Sakya, Tsewang Sonam, Divya Vajra Vajrācārya, Gautama Vajra Vajrācārya, Hera Kaji Vajrācārya, Manik Man Vajrācārya, Ratna Kaji Vajrācārya, Ritu Vajrācārya, Somdev Vasudev and Karma Wangyal.

My fieldwork and research has been helped by fellowships, grants or the kindess of: the Boden Fund at Oxford University, who kept me at Oxford when funds were low; the Society for South Asian Studies, who sent me to Calcutta; the Lotus Research Centre in Lalitpur, which has provided me a home in Nepal for many years; and Pete Cranston at Oxfam who kindly saw that my field posting happened to be in Nepal.

May whatever merit arises from this work go for the benefit of these and all other sentient beings.

Contents

List of Figures

Frequently used abbreviations

Texts

GKV Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha. References are given thus: II.5, verse 5 of chapter II.

SvP Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa

BhK Bhadrakalpāvadāna

MJM Mahajjātakamālā

RAM Ratnāvadānamālā

AśAM Aśokāvadānamālā

VAM Vratāvadānamālā

SJM Sarvajñāmitrāvadānamālā

KV Kāraṇḍavyūha

GV Gandhavyūha

PP Prajñāpāramitā

PP8k Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā

ADS Amitāyur Dhāraṇī Sūtra

AmS Amoghapāśasūtra

AmK Amoghapāśakalparāja

BCA Bodhicaryāvatāra

Journals and series

AN Pracīna Nepāl, Ancient Nepal

BSOAS, BSOS Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies

BST Buddhist Sanskrit Texts (also,*Bauddha-Saṃskṛta-Grantha-Mālā*)

CAJ Central Asian Journal

EBHR European Bulletin of Himalayan Research

EI Epigraphia Indica

EJVS Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies

GOS Gaekwad's Oriental Series

IHQ Indian Historical Quarterly

JA Journal Asiatíque

JIABS Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies

JNRC Journal of the Nepal Research Centre

JOIB Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda

JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

MCB Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques

OA Oriental Art

RIMA Review of Indo-Malay Affairs

ZDMG Zeitschrift für Deutsches Morgenlandes Gesellschaft

Other abbreviations.

BHS Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit

ON Old Newari

MN Middle Newari

NBS Nepalese Buddhist Sanskrit

CE Common Era

BCE Before the Common Era

NS Nepal Samvat, which began 20 October 879CE

ASB Asiatic Society of Bengal, in Calcutta

SBLN *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* citepSBLN

IASWR Institute for the Advanced Study of World Religions

NGMPP Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project

RAS Royal Asiatic Society, in London

TBRC Tibetan Buddhist Resource Centre

GKV manuscripts

For a discussion of the manuscripts used in this edition, please consult 6 on page 150.

Sigil	Age	Location	Catalogue reference
N0	1493CE	Nepal	IASWR MBBI-8
N1	1632CE	Nepal	NGMPP G 14/32
T	1720CE	Tokyo	Tokyo 33
W1	1780CE	Cambridge	Cantab. add. 1270
J	1805CE	Jodhpur	Jodhpur 1190
N2	1770	Nepal	NGMPP D 49/4
H2	1820CE	London	RAS Hodgson 19

Figure 1: Manuscripts of the GKV used for this edition

Chapter 1

Introduction

For 'tis your thoughts that now must deck our kings
Carry them here and there, jumping o'er times,
Turning th' accomplishment of many years
Into an hour-glass...

Shakespeare, *Henry V*

The *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* was among the last Buddhist sūtras to be written in Sanskrit. Its authors, Vajrayāna priests living in the monasteries of fifteenth-century Nepal, were inheritors of the great Sanskrit Buddhist tradition which once had stretched from Afghanistan to Indonesia. The vast corpus of narrative, ritual, doctrinal and legal texts which had been compiled, commented on and scrupulously preserved in the monastic universities of Greater India had, after the twelfth-century decline of Buddhism in Magadha and Bihar, been stewarded by their forebears in the monasteries of Nepāl Maṇḍala, the present-day Kathmandu Valley of Nepal, for centuries. Yet by the 15^{th} century it was clear to them that preservation of the textual tradition would not suffice to maintain the vitality and authority of Sanskrit Buddhism in Nepal. With changes in the political and social order among the three rival city states of Lalitpur, Bhaktapur and Kantipur, the received status of the Indo-Newar Buddhist tradition was challenged. Over the course of several decades new texts began to emerge, frequently modelled closely on famous older texts. The Nepalese Buddhists were in those days, as indeed they still are, great lovers of stories as well as skilled ritualists, and thus these new texts tended to be revised versions of older collections of didactic and inspirational stories about the adventures of great Bodhisattvas and the efforts of the Buddhas in their previous lives.

The *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* (GKV), or "Array of bamboo reliquaries of the qualities [of Avalokiteśvara]",[1] is a collection of some 15 stories about the merciful interventions of Avalokiteśvara, the great Bodhisattva who embodies compassion. He travels to hell, to the realm of the hungry ghosts, to the realm of the Titans, to Magadha during a time of famine, and even to the sewage outfalls of Vārānasi, and each time his mission is to rescue whatever pitiful, wretched or depraved creatures he might find. He appears in a palatable guise—a ṛṣi, perhaps, or a bumblebee—and provides nourishment and inspiration whereby each and every one of these beings is set on the Buddhist path. All of them will be reborn in Sukhāvatī and eventually attain complete enlightenment.

These stories are nested within each other in a sometimes bewildering way, and they all are enclosed within a set of concentric framing narratives. Each of the stories is told in a formal

[1] *kāraṇḍa* is not listed as 'reliquary' in any of the standard lexica. The term means something fashioned from bamboo (cf. *kāraṇḍava*, the bamboo duck) and specifically a small box for books (as in the Tibetan *za ma tog*). However there is a related Sinhala term *karaňḍuva* which means 'reliquary' and that, in the absence of a commentary, is the best translation I have encountered for the term. The title is often given in colophons as *Avalokiteśvaraguṇakāraṇḍavyūha*, but in Nepal it is always referred to in the shorter form.

Buddhist teaching context, with a Buddha describing the acts of Avalokiteśvara to a large audience. At the outset, it is the Buddha of our age, Śākyamuni, who is teaching, and his interlocutor is one Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, although frequently Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin finds himself in turn being told what Śākyamuni Buddha was told when that Buddha sat at the feet of some other, long past Buddha. He is provoked to ask about Avalokiteśvara by a miraculous play of lights which signals Avalokiteśvara's activities in Hell, and as the stories progress he becomes increasingly desperate to somehow meet Avalokiteśvara himself. Indeed, the stories contain other framing narratives, and in those episodes other students from other ages of the world also become desperate to see Avalokiteśvara. As they have their dearest wish realized, so Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin's devotion to Avalokiteśvara and desire to see him become ever fiercer.

Finally, at the crux of the narrative, he understands that Avalokiteśvara in fact contains every realm imaginable within himself and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin has a staggering vision in which he is guided on a journey across the pores of Avalokiteśvara's skin. Each pore contains a vast realm populated by different sorts of beings all actively progressing along the Buddhist path.[2] Contained within this vision is the key to Avalokiteśvara himself, a magic formula of six syllables which is finally revealed to Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin.

So far, this description applies equally well to another, far older text, the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*. This was the model for much of the GKV, and indeed, as we shall see, the two texts have often, and sometimes deliberately, been confused. The *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (KV), which has not yet been translated into English, is among the most important of the Mahāyāna sūtras as well as being among the first recognizable tantras, and its second half is the original source for the most famous Buddhist mantra, the *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā*.

Yet the GKV is unquestionably a Newar text, however much it is indebted to the KV as a source. The mythical and ritual contents of the GKV as well as its distinctive language and style locate it in the mediæval Newar context along with a handful of other late Newar Sanskrit Buddhist (NSB) works which together make up the Garland literature. It draws on other sources within Sanskrit Buddhist literature, most notably the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, and it describes and recommends a series of vows and rituals which are uniquely Newar, although they have roots deep in the Indian Buddhist tradition. For the Newar Buddhists, however, it is the central deity of the GKV that stamps it as theirs: Karuṇāmaya, the great Nepalese Avalokiteśvara, the last surviving Amoghapāśa and the guardian of the wellbeing of all Newar Buddhists.

In the following pages, I am going to use the GKV as a window onto the reformulation of Newar Buddhism in the mediæval period. In determining the sources of the text, its dating, and the reasons for its composition, I will have the opportunity to investigate the history of its principal cult, that of Amoghapāśa, and to reflect on the social and political place of the text, this cult and Avalokiteśvara generally. It will also be appropriate to attempt a summary of what we now know about Newar Sanskrit Buddhist literature generally, as there have been several good studies of texts composed in Nepāl Maṇḍala published in the past 40 years.

1.1 A map of this thesis

The power and ubiquity of the *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā* cannot be overstated, nor therefore the influence of the KV in the evolution of Indian and Himalayan Buddhism. The earliest evidence for the KV is Gilgit material which Adelheid Mette (1993; 1997) has been studying and editing for some years now. She

[2] It belongs to a genre of Mahāyāna sūtra which use visualizations of the Buddha's body as an image of totality, such as the *Avataṃsaka*. This is directly related to the borrowing of the *mahāpuruṣa* mytheme from RV X, which we will meet below, and has other interesting parallels in Jain cosmology.

suggests that the text is perhaps a 4th or 5th century composition, making it contemporary with other relatively late Mahāyāna texts such as the *Laṅkāvatāra* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. We can get some idea of the place of the *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā* from a story found in the *Blue Annals*, a Tibetan chronicle which contains a long section on the transmission history of rites and initiations of Avalokiteśvara. There, after long and strenuous effort under a famous lama, a student is given the most powerful mantra. When he hears it, however, he discovers that it is nothing other than the *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā*. He leaves in disgust at being told such an ordinary mantra which everyone knows. On returning to his home he is roundly scolded by his root teacher and promptly sent back with profound apologies in the hope that he may yet appreciate the genuine importance of the mantra.

1: Literary It is not surprising, then, that a fifteenth-century Nepalese Buddhist master would choose this text as the basis upon which to build a new sūtra for his own people and time. That the GKV is indeed a Nepalese production is still not widely known, and I will take some pains in the second chapter to demonstrate that, along with a handful of other texts, it must be a product of Nepāl Maṇḍala. There is no question that the GKV depends on the KV, nor that it is a far later text. A second task in that chapter will be to consider the differences between the two texts in much more detail, and to trace the specific ways in which the GKV draws on the KV for its chapter structure and narrative material. Here I can summarize the most obvious differences between the two: (1) The GKV wraps the entire narrative in two more concentric dialogue frames. The outermost of these, which is a conversation between Jinaśrī and Jayaśrī, has been noticed as a feature by other commentators on other texts composed at the same time.[3] In fact this feature has been remarked without being fully understood ever since Burnouf and it is only recently that its importance as a diagnostic feature has been recognized. (2) The GKV is entirely in verse. (3) The GKV is about twice as long as the KV. (4) The GKV is a late Vajrayāna text, as is demonstrated by its use of later iconographic and ritual material, as well as its focus on the cult of a particularly Nepalese form of Avalokiteśvara, Karuṇāmaya. In fact this list of features can be considerably extended and refined by comparison with other similar texts, preserved in Nepalese manuscripts, which share so many features with the GKV that they must be taken to form a coherent genre. Indeed, when the full contents of all the Sanskrit libraries which were preserved in, or removed from, Nepal have been exhaustively catalogued and cross-referenced, I hope it will be possible finally to list the works which Nepalese Vajrācāryas composed. At present the simple existence of such a stratum of Buddhist Sanskrit texts is surprising to many scholars.

The KV is not the only identifiable source for the GKV. While it provides the skeleton, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (BCA) provides much of the innards. In two key chapters (VIII and XVIII) more than half of the BCA is simply folded into the GKV. Yet there are other sources as well, isolated verses of great quality which appear to be preserved from the earlier tradition, as well as two longer verse passages in mixed metres (in I and VIII). The use of verse from the BCA in the GKV is well known by Newar Buddhist scholars, and they argue that it functions as a kind of commentary on the BCA. While this is strictly true for the Newari translation, which offers a Newari gloss on the verses, it is not true for the Sanskrit. There are textual variants, however, and I will summarize the variants from the BCA tradition.

A further project of the second chapter will be to propose a provisional list of the Garland texts, drawing on work by Tatelman, Hahn, Bühnemann and Brinkhaus, and to define what common features they have. This is a somewhat recursive process, as the identification of criteria for inclusion in turn leads us to include other texts or, conversely, the inclusion of a text which lacks some of these features may lead us to regard a particular feature as a poor criterion for inclusion or as a later development.

[3] Brinkhaus (1993) and Tatelman (1996)

By now it will be apparent that the second chapter is a study of the GKV as a work of literature, considering its genre, sources and style. A prerequisite for this is a clear understanding of the language itself. As others have noticed, the Sanskrit of the GKV and the other Nepalese sūtras is not Classical Sanskrit. I will, towards the end of this introduction, provide a summary of the linguistic features of what might be called Newar Sanskrit.

Finally, as a result of the coherence of the Garland literature it becomes possible to date the genre as a whole on the basis of early manuscripts and internal evidence. This is perhaps the most important conclusion of the second chapter, for it allows us to pin down a rough date for the reformulation of Nepalese Buddhism, and this dating in turn enables the studies of the next two chapters.

2: Surreptitious authority Once we determine that the writing of the Garland texts is constitutive of the re-invention of Nepalese Buddhism, we can begin to ask about the character of this new form of Buddhism and identify its unique features. Some, such as the lack of celibate monks, are frequently identified as unique features but in fact are unremarkable in the Himalayan context. In the third chapter we explore the peculiarly surreptitious manner by which the authors of the Garland texts seek to establish their authority, and compare this with methods that some other Buddhists have used. This in turn opens the possibility of critically engaging theories about authority and canonicity. It also exposes the difficult position which modern Newar Buddhists are in when they compare themselves to other traditions within world Buddhism and within the Newar religious world; these two contexts require precisely opposite claims about the originality of Newar Buddhist texts and rituals.

3: Historical. Once we have some understanding of the GKV as a work of literature, we are in a better position to ask why it was written. It is a question that will recur several times as we consider the text in in greater detail, but I believe that it is impossible to understand the production of the Nepalese Sanskrit sūtras without rethinking the history of Buddhism in Nepal up to the 16th century. As many histories proudly note, in the heyday of the great Indian monastic universities, Nepal was a source of scholars and a way station on the route to and from Tibet. Scholars travelling south to Vikramaśīla or Nālandā would begin the process of learning Sanskrit in Nepal, and for many decades after the late twelfth-century collapse of institutional Buddhism in Magadha and Bihar, Nepal served as a refuge for displaced scholars and a substitute destination for Tibetans seeking Sanskritic training. There is a sign still affixed to the front of Thã Bahī in Kathmandu, which reads *Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra*. This was explained to me in 1992 as showing that Thã Bahī was in fact a branch of the old, now lost Indian monastic university and its sole descendant.[4]

However, Nepal was not just a stopover or substitute. From at least the 11th century onwards, we have good evidence from manuscript miniatures, colophons, inscriptions, Tibetan historical literature and Nepalese chronicles for distinctive local cults and practices. Kashmiri Buddhist scholars travelled to Nepal in the 12th century, and by studying transmission lineages (especially those of Avalokiteśvara) we find that Nepal was a centre of activity for teaching and transmission in that time. After 1200, the relations between post-Pāla Buddhist polities become a significant influence on Nepalese Buddhism. In the later 13th and early 14th centuries the kings of Ya.'rtse make pilgrimages to Bũgadyaḥ, apparently carrying out royal rituals for their state at his shrine (Douglas 2002). These events are recorded with suspicion in the annals of the strongly Śaiva Bhaktapur court. By this time Bũgadyaḥ already has a long history of royal patronage among the kings in Nepal, and the court annals reveal that attendance at the annual festival of Bũgadyaḥ served to legitimate the place of Jayasthiti Malla over against rivals.

[4] I suspect there may have been a special affinity between the Nepalese and Vikramaśīla, for this is also the only monastic university to be named in the Garland texts, in the story of Dharmaśrīmitra in SvP VI.

In the fourth chapter, I will sketch the historical background of Buddhism in Nepal, and specifically those events and trends which led to the composition of the GKV. I do not believe it is possible to understand the development of Bũgadyaḥ or the motivation for writing the GKV without a clear historical perspective on Nepal and on the Indian Vajrayāna model of Buddhist kingship which influenced Nepal and other states in the region.

We are extremely fortunate that there is an external witness for the situation in Nepal at this time. The life history of Vanaratna, a Bengali paṇḍit and siddha, has been known in abbreviated form for some time from the *Blue Annals*; but in the last years of his life Michael Aris discovered and studied two new manuscripts, which give an extensive biography of Vanaratna, preserved in Bhutan. Vanaratna was a keen observer and participant in Nepalese Buddhism and Nepalese court politics, and his biography provides us with invaluable evidence for the changes happening in the mid-15th century.

4: Amoghapāśa and his vow Bũgadyaḥ's importance as a royal god must be understood in terms of the history of Lokeśvara as an Indian royal deity. Paul Mus and others following him demonstrated the place of Lokeśvara in the widest possible Indic Buddhist sphere, from Tibet to Śrī Vijaya. It is an Indian model, and harks back to Aśokan kingship. The formalization of a royal cult of Bũgadyaḥ, especially when he is understood to be Amoghapāśa, is consistent with developments elsewhere in the Pāla and post-Pāla world. The relation between the literary structure of the text and its historical situation is made explicit in the framing narrative, which strives to assert the continuity of royal patronage on the Aśokan model but inflects it in terms of pious performance of the Aṣṭamī Vrata ritual.

Bũgadyaḥ was the object of royal pilgrimage in the centuries before the composition of the GKV. In the 17th century Śrīnivās Malla, king of Lalitpur, had a golden window constructed in his palace showing the emanation of all the Brahminical deities from Avalokiteśvara, a scene taken from GKV III. It is not just that the GKV appeals to royal support, but that dynasties appealed to the deity of the GKV. It would seem impossible to describe the GKV or account for its genesis and subsequent rôle without an understanding of the political dimension of the cult of Avalokiteśvara.

In the fifth chapter, we turn to address the identity of Bũgadyaḥ and consider the history of the lay fasting ritual with which he is associated, the Poṣadha Vrata or Aṣṭamī Vrata. The GKV, as will have been considered in the first chapter, draws heavily on the KV, a 4th or 5th century work. To understand the Aṣṭamī Vrata, the ritual central to the GKV, we must look at the *Amoghapāśa Sūtra*, which dates from at least the late 6th century. Amoghapāśa is among the most widespread forms of Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist world, known from India, Dunhuang, Indonesia and Japan; yet today the last 'living' form of Amoghapāśa is Bũgadyaḥ. My first task will be to sketch the history of Amoghapāśa himself, beginning with his origins as a Buddhist adaptation of the Brahminical god Varuṇa, the guarantor of vows and oaths. This origin shows Amoghapāśa's inseparability from the Aṣṭamī Vrata, which consists in the successful completion of a fasting vow. There is considerable debate over the place of vratas in the Indian tradition, with some authors claiming that they are extra-Āryan and others locating them within the sphere of women's religion. Certainly the *Amoghapāśasūtra* is aware of this question of exclusion and access and is clear evidence of an attempt to broaden the appeal of the Mahāyāna through the introduction of a lay fast, one still widely performed in present day Nepal.

A very similar ritual complex, the *smyung nas*, is popular in Tibet but there the tutelary deity is no longer Amoghapāśa but Ekādaśamukha Avalokiteśvara. There is some evidence that the process of replacing Amoghapāśa with Ekādaśamukha had also begun in Nepal at the time of the composition of the GKV, but Ekādaśamukha never supplanted Amoghapāśa, and it is remarkable today how few images of the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara there are to be seen in Nepal. Using the Tibetan

tradition, I will also be able to show that the term *Karuṇāmaya*, by which Buddhist priests in Nepal know the form of Avalokiteśvara, refers specifically to the Nepalese form of Amoghapāśa.

In considering the formation of the cult of Karuṇāmaya in Nepal, I will look at evidence for ritual and iconographic change in the period after 1200. In particular, it is possible to correlate passages describing rituals in the GKV to ritual manuals preserved in Sanskrit and Old Newari. We can thus observe how the rituals of Amoghapāśa proper, and the Aṣṭamī Vrata which he governs, develop from Sanskrit materials preserved in the Tibetan canon up to the time of the composition of the GKV in the late 15th century.

While the fourth chapter considers political and social history, the fifth is more properly a history of religious change. As part of this analysis, I hope to offer a clear example of the way in which the Buddhist virtuosi of Nepāl Maṇḍala managed a multiplex deity, Avalokiteśvara, in the physical instance of Bũgadyaḥ and the cult form of Karuṇāmaya. Karuṇāmaya has different appearances and properties depending on his location, the time of year, the person encountering him and the conditions of that encounter; under certain circumstances he ceases to have any features at all. Yet it is true to say that he is a form of Avalokiteśvara, that the GKV is about him and that the Aṣṭamī Vrata is the most important public ritual associated with him. There is also evidence within the GKV that the identification of Bũgadyaḥ as a Nāth is rather older than has previously been thought, and that, at least within the GKV, there is little or no tension felt in the identification of Avalokiteśvara as Matsyendranāth. This adds a further complication to the many rôles that Bũgadyaḥ already played; and while scholars have traditionally seen this as an example of Bauddha-Śaiva negotiation, evidence here would suggest that Matsyendranāth was comfortably understood as a Buddhist figure.

Edition and translation Finally, as an appendix, I offer an edition and translation of the first chapter of the GKV. A genuinely critical edition of the entire text is still a desideratum. Other edited material will be found in the course of the thesis as it is required to support various arguments, including a long section from chapter IX. The manuscript tradition of the GKV is tangled. There are some thirty-three manuscripts known and more, I am sure, to be discovered; several different versions of the text derive from post-Malla revisions, and only a few are genuinely useful. In preparing the edited extracts and translation I have therefore limited myself to a set of seven manuscripts which has, I believe, allowed me to establish a good text. A complete critical edition of the entire text must remain a long-term project, as it will require mastery not only of all the extant Sanskrit manuscripts but also the Newari translations and the vast corpus of related ritual and narrative material.[5]

This introduction For the remainder of this introduction, I will try to lay necessary groundwork. In particular, there is a brief introduction to Newar Buddhism, a review of the contents of the GKV as a whole, a discussion of the unusual language of the GKV and its sister texts, and an excursus into methodology, all of which should provide the requisite information to make the rest of the thesis more clear.

1.2 Introduction to Nepalese Buddhism

For the mediæval period (c. 1200-c. 1700), the term 'Newar Buddhism' unambiguously refers to the the indigenous Buddhism of *Nepāla Maṇḍala*, the Kathmandu Valley. Modern studies in European languages use this term to refer to the distinctive Buddhism, descended from its mediæval form, which still thrives there today. Similarly, the term Newari is used by outside scholars and indeed

[5] The edition as a work in progress is available at <http://www.sattvajala.org/research/GKV/>. Details of manuscripts not known at the time of writing will also be placed there.

many Newars to refer to the very old Tibeto-Burmese language which is proper to the Kathmandu Valley. The Newars themselves, some of whom find the term 'Newar' to be an oppressive reminder of their colonization by the Gorkhas in the 18th century, tend not to use the term 'Newar Buddhism'; some also object to the term 'Newari'. Before 1768, when Pṛthivī Nārayān Shāh completed his capture of the Kathmandu Valley, the term Nepal referred exclusively to Nepāl Maṇḍala and indeed still does; when a trader from the remote hills says he's off to Nepal, he means the Kathmandu Valley; and when a Tibetan speaker talks about *bal yul* it means the Valley. For this reason, I will use the words Nepal and Nepalese to refer to the Kathmandu Valley until 1768; when I speak of mediæval Nepalese Buddhism, I do not mean to include the Buddhism of Mustang, Dolpo or other culture areas outside the Newari-speaking regions. However after 1768 I follow Western convention in distinguishing between the Kathmandu Valley, with its Newar Buddhism, and the state of Nepal with several different Buddhist traditions. It is important to recognize that the modern term 'Newar Buddhism' is also contestable; there are presently Buddhists of almost every stripe active in the Kathmandu Valley, from Theravāda critics of the indigenous Vajrayāna, through Zen priests, Nyingma lay yogins and members of the Western Buddhist Order, to conservative or reformist Newar Buddhist Vajrācāryas; and the Newars are right in the middle of this global soup, as skillful at cultural weaving as they have always been.[6]

Such an ostensive definition may be precise, but it carries little information. A general description of mediæval Nepalese Buddhism would include the following features: it had Sanskrit as its canonical language, although preaching and instruction took place in Old Newari; there were few, if any, celibate religious left, and only those born into the priestly caste could become priests; it was a thoroughly Vajrayāna form of Buddhism, with close links to the Buddhism that still lingered on in remote corners of Bengal and Indonesia. Historically Nepal was one of the first places outside the Gangetic basin to benefit from the introduction of Buddhism, and it has probably the oldest continuous tradition of Buddhism in the world. Nepalese Buddhism was, and is, an intensely conservative tradition which always understood itself to be part of a profound and extensive Indic tradition, and sought its authority from Indic precedents. This has obscured, I believe, the existence of important non-Indic, but typically Himalayan, features of Nepalese Buddhism.[7]

Geographically Nepal was a fertile valley protected on all sides by mountains. Until the early 20th century, it was agriculturally self-sufficient. To the south the last range of the Himalayan foothills protects it from the lowlands of the Terai and then the Gangetic plain; to the north, the full height of the Himalayas separates it from Kyirong. Trade routes from the Tibetan plateau to India have passed through the Valley for as long as we have evidence, and the people of the Valley showed the effects of this constant contact and secure isolation. Successive waves of immigration created a population which was ethnically diverse, but united by the Newari language. Much of the history in this thesis is driven by groups or individuals who wandered into, or were called to, the Valley.[8] It derived its great wealth from the trade that constantly passed through; Newar merchants travelled to Lhasa and along the Himalayas, and with the advent of the British opened trading houses in Calcutta and Darjeeling. The goods produced for export from Nepal were largely metalwork of various sorts.

[6] For the modern form of Newar Buddhism Gellner (1992) is the standard reference. [7] To give two examples: the existence of an oligarchy in Lalitpur and their behaviour toward presumptive monarchs shows significant parallels with the Tibetan pattern observed by Charles Ramble (forthcoming) in Mustang and the myths of the central Tibetan state; and Nick Allen (1997) has shown the existence of a widespread lake-draining myth throughout the Himalayas. [8] An example of the degree to which this sense of arrival is a feature of the identity of even a well established Newar clan is that at least one Vajrācārya family in Bu Bahal has three distinct *kul devata* or lineage deity sites: one in another monastery in Lalitpur, the previous and rather older at a site near Kīrtipur and the oldest 'somewhere in India'. Although no one seems to remember its location, it is believed that a famous paṇḍit of the previous generation (Ratna Bahādur Vajrācārya) did know its location ('near Benares', I have been told) and went on pilgrimage there.

They ran the mint for the Tibetan state in the later mediæval period, and their fine metal images of Bodhisattvas, Buddhas and gods are still marketed worldwide. Newar culture was organized around towns and cities, with an accumulation of dense urban cores: first Lalitpur, then Bhaktapur, and finally Kantipur. Especially in Lalitpur, the urban structure is largely a mosaic of Buddhist residential monasteries (New. *bahā* and *bahī*) with intervening courtyards and passages. The society had, and has, a highly developed caste system, perhaps the most complex in South Asia.

Nepal was home to several religions, all of them closely linked to Indic traditions. Thus Śaiva, Śākta and Vaiṣṇava cults and priests found ample patronage alongside the Bauddha cults and priests. There may have been some Jains; there were, after about 1500, a handful of Muslims. Christianity only came to the Kathmandu Valley with early Jesuit missions and was never a significant force. We must be careful, however, when we move from speaking about the existence of traditions to the numbers of adherents. While contemporary Newar religious professionals—Vajrācāryas and Brahmins—make strong distinctions between the sects, the lack of such distinctions among agricultural and artisan castes is a key component of Newar religion. True, this or that caste will be identified as Bauddhamārgī or Śaivamārgī, but this has more to do with inheritable patronage relations than it does with the actual beliefs or devotional practices of any individual. Asking someone if they are Buddhist will elicit a response determined as much by opportunism (and thus usually results in a declaration of Hinduism) as by any sincere declaration of 'faith'; there are problems with the categories a Western scholar attempts to impose.[9] It is difficult to ascertain the degree to which the very nature of self-ascription has changed since 1768, after which time it was socially and economically advantageous to become a Śaivamārgī, or these days a Hindu. However, the lack of strict boundaries and the sharing of a number of important cults between all the sects (Gaṇeśa, Mahākāla, Vasundharā, the Aṣṭamātṛkās) is as evident in the mediæval materials as is today.

With this proviso in mind, we can turn to the question of adherents. Regardless of individual preferences, one's caste determined the caste from which one drew a religious specialist. These relations were inherited, family by family, in what is usually called a *jajmān* relationship. It does seem that the majority of Nepalese in the mediæval period patronized Buddhist priests, and this is a significant difference from the contemporary situation. Only rarely do we find monarchs with Buddhist lineage deities, however. Among the earlier Malla and Thakuri kings, a handful were linked to Buddhist deities; before that we do not have adequate evidence. The Bhaktapur Mallas of the late 14th century and their descendent kings and queens were extremely careful to assert their special debt and relationship to Taleju, the ferocious goddess who still is the lineage deity of the Kathmandu court. Even among the oligarchs of Lalitpur, traditionally a strongly Buddhist city, there was a tendency to assert Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava affiliation. With Śrīnivās Malla in seventeenth-century Lalitpur that pattern collapsed to be replaced by Vaiṣṇava and then Buddhist devotion, which persisted in the Lalitpur court until its demise. We will have more to say about this problem and the courts in general in chapter four.

Perhaps the single feature that is most often used to label Newar Buddhism is that it is Buddhism 'without monks', or with 'Buddhist Brahmins'. This is a mistake on several counts, for not only do the Vajrācāryas think of themselves as monks, but also in the period we are considering it appears that non-celibate religious were widespread. One thread discernible in this thesis is the felt tension between the Nepalese Buddhist religious and the caste system, especially as legislated and regulated by Śaiva Brahmins. As in later Indian Buddhism and modern Tibetan orders, it was at least theoretically

[9] Similarly asking for the name of a deity portrayed in a public image can lead to a bewildering series of names as the answer invariably begins with the 'easiest' name, the one which best fits what the informant thinks a Westerner might recognize. This is not, as we will see in chapter 4, in any way a false answer; Newar Buddhist deities, especially those with esoteric identities, are routinely managed through a complex stack of more or less public names as well as multiple Hindu and Buddhist identities. Thus an esoteric form of Prajñāpāramitā might first be identified to a Westerner as Sarasvatī.

possible either to be a celibate monastic or a married vajrācārya. In modern Newar Buddhism, the married priests are entirely enclosed within a caste, the Vajrācāryas and Śākyas. Celibate monasticism is now only possible by leaving behind the forms of Newar Vajrayāna Buddhism and taking robes within a Tibetan or Theravāda lineage, and monks and nuns of both sorts can be found in the Valley today living in converted Newar monasteries. We do not know what the situation was between 1200CE and 1500CE. Later Nepalese Buddhist chronicles blame figures from the 11th and 14th centuries for the abolition of the celibate option, suggesting that celibate monasticism was very rare by the mediæval period. The problem of celibacy, however, is only half of an interesting pair, for the Vajrācāryas also claim that they were good Brahmins in their own right until they were stripped of their threads and death rituals, as part of the same process, by over-zealous and uncomprehending foreign brahmins who had the ear of the court. The Nepalese Buddhists did not reject the caste system, but objected to their having been dislocated within it as well as losing the option of ascetic celibacy. The situation since 1768 is more complex, for many traditionally Buddhist castes have since rejected the Buddhist label in order to win social advantage in a highly Hinduized capital city.

For students of modern Newar Buddhism, one of the frustrations they will encounter here is that I have not attempted to resolve many questions to do with mediæval Nepalese Vajrayāna. This is a regrettable but necessary effect of the strongly Mahāyāna nature of the Garland texts. They only rarely refer to higher Vajrayāna topics; the Aṣṭamī Vrata or Poṣadha Vrata, with which the GKV is much concerned, is strictly a ritual complex of the Kriyā Tantra; and the *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā* was well known and widely practised. The biography of Vanaratna, which provides crucial evidence for chapter 3, also contains a great deal of information on his own visions and practices, but there is relatively little there to shed light on the distinctive Vajrayāna of the Kathmandu Valley. It is clear that the Cakrasaṃvara tantras are very important to both Vanaratna and his Newar students and colleagues, but beyond this it will take a very careful reading of the biography to elicit details which may shed light on, for instance, the continuity of the Hevajra lineages or the uniquely Newar pairing of an esoteric Mañjuśrī and Nairātmyā. Conversely, we do learn a great deal from the Garland texts about the ways in which Vajrayāna is suppressed in a public context of competing with other sects for royal and mercantile patronage. A ripping yarn about cannibals in Magadha, or an admonitory passage suggesting the ill effects of alienating the (Buddhist) rain deity, is clearly thought to be a much more potent way to win influence and sponsorship than any esoteric tantric ritual of subjugation.

1.3 Introducing the Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha

1.3.1 Brief history

As will be argued below, the GKV was written in the mid-15th century, at a time when several other Buddhist texts were also being composed by Newars. In its original form it was about 200 folia in length, and had 19 chapters. Although there may have been a period of composition in which different versions circulated, little evidence of such instability remains and it seems much more likely that the text was composed by one person or a small group in a short space of time. No substantial changes were made to the text until the late 18th or, more likely, the early 19th century, when the chapter divisions were revised to more closely reflect the sequence in the KV. This involved the addition of a small amount of linking material to make the narrative run smoothly. This revision was almost certainly the work of Amṛtānanda, a learned Vajrācārya from Lalitpur who was also responsible for a verse summary of Newar religion (the *Naipalya-deva-pañcaviṃśati*) and an encyclopedic summary of Newar Buddhism, and who forged a few lost verses from the *Buddhacarita*. The reworking may have been part of a process of reflection and editing inspired by the interest of

the British resident, Brian Hodgson.[10]

Sometime thereafter, in the mid 19th century, the first Newari translation appeared. This is, so far as I have been able to determine, based on the 22 chapter version, and it is reasonable to suppose that Amṛtānanda was also behind this first translation of the text into the vernacular. A second translation into Newari in 21 chapters was begun by Jog Muni Vajrācārya and completed and published in 1998 by Min Bahadur Sakya through the Nāgārjuna Institute for Exact Method. The second translation was part of a general move to translate the basic texts of Newar Buddhism, long concealed from the vast majority of Newar Buddhists in Sanskrit, into the vernacular. These translations have so far been organized and sponsored largely by two research centres based in Lalitpur. Interestingly, where the Lotus Research Centre has specialised in the production of Newari language versions of the so-called Nine Books (*navadharma*, on which see 3.1.1 on page 70), Min Bahadur, who has made more of an effort to build bridges with non-Vajrācārya Buddhist traditions in the valley, is also taking much more care to publish those works which are distinctively Newar in origin.

Finally, there may also be a translation into Tibetan. If so, it would most likely have been made in the 18th century by Si.tu Paṇ.chen Chos.kyi.'byung.gnas, who definitely translated a version of the Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa.[11]

1.3.2 Summary of the contents

It will be helpful to summarize the plot and main characters of the GKV.[12] Like the KV, the first half of the GKV consists of a series of stories about the endless travels of Avalokiteśvara into every imaginable realm and condition of existence in order to rescue all sentient beings and set them on the path of enlightenment. This succession of stories emerges in the dialogue between two principal characters, Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin ("Eliminating all obscurations") and the highest Buddha, usually called Śrīghana ("Cloud of glory") in the GKV. Each chapter begins with Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin asking Śrīghana when Avalokiteśvara will arrive in the garden where they are conversing, and each time he is told that Avalokiteśvara is presently rescuing the *pretas*, the *asuras*, or some other class of beings. At a certain point in the narrative, however, Śrīghana demonstrates to Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin that in fact we all dwell on the body of Avalokiteśvara, and so to expect his arrival is rather to miss the point. Instead, there is a great mantra, the *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā*, which grants one access to Avalokiteśvara and also to Sukhāvatī, his pure land where Amitābha teaches. In the GKV, this is the crucial chapter XVI; in the KV, the introduction of the mantra is the work of the second half (called a *nirvyūha*) of the book. The GKV as a whole closes with some moral instructions and a final chapter which describes the benefits of attracting Avalokiteśvara's benevolent gaze.

The GKV in general follows the chapter structure of the KV. Where this is not so the GKV tends to have fewer, longer chapters. This is especially apparent in chapter XVI, which corresponds to much of the second *nirvyūha* of the KV. This rearrangement lends a greater sense of narrative coherence to the GKV. The production of versions in 21 or 22 chapters, rather than the original 19, was also motivated by a need for coherence and intelligibility. These extra chapters are not new material, but result from the introduction of chapter breaks which correspond to those in the KV.

[10] Amṛtānanda had already encountered British manuscript collectors, however. The Knox manuscript of the *Lalitavistara*, which dates from around 1803 and is presently held in the British Library, was probably copied out by Amṛtānanda and includes illustrations of Amṛtānanda in conversation with Knox. Thus there is every reason to believe that the 'old Lalitpur pundit' was primed for his encounter with Hodgson, and indeed may already have composed some of the summary works which he used in his presentation of Nepalese Buddhism to Hodgson. [11] My sincere thanks to Peter Verhagen for this information. [12] Readers may wish to consult the English language summary in Min Bahadur Sakya's edition of the Newari version in 21 chapters, which offers background and related narratives.

In fact, earlier manuscripts only name 18 chapters, although the long excursus at the end functions as a chapter. It is only with the 22 chapter version that the last chapter is recognised as such.[13]

The GKV departs from the KV in the contents of the chapters rather than in the carefully nested framing structure, although it does distribute the framing narrative differently among its chapters. It also wraps the entire text in two more concentric narratives, the stories of Jayaśrī and Jinaśrī, and of Aśoka and Upagupta. These outermost narratives are discussed at more length in the second chapter, but here it is enough to note that these 'framing narratives' make up the first and last chapters of the text. Thus the first chapter of the KV, which like many Mahāyāna sūtras sets the scene for the text by describing the location of the Buddha's teaching and the various beings present, is replaced in the GKV by a dialogue between Jayaśrī and Jinaśrī which rapidly passes to a nested, exactly parallel, dialogue between Upagupta and Aśoka. Only after this dialogue is complete do we begin, in the second chapter, to hear of the exploits of Avalokiteśvara.

In my summary here, I have avoided the lengthy and repetitive descriptions of the Path. Frequently, as in chapters IV and V, the whole Path is described three separate times: once when it is first taught, once in a description of the benefits of devotion to Avalokiteśvara, and finally when the progress of the class of beings being liberated is described.

I. Narratives praising worship of the Three Jewels.

śrī triratnabhajanānuśaṃsāvadānaṃ

The first chapter opens with a meditation on the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha understood as the Ādibuddha, Prajñāpāramitā Devī, and Avalokiteśvara. The entire work is then set into a series of nested narrative frames. In the outermost frame we find Jinaśrī and Jayaśrī, king and monastic preceptor. Jinaśrī agrees to describe the merits of the Poṣadha vow to Jayaśrī, and promises to do so just as Upagupta described them to his king, Aśoka. After some details of the Poṣadha Upagupta breaks into *triṣṭubh* metre. The glorification of the Poṣadha vow goes on for 56 verses, and the chapter closes with Aśoka and all his people adopting the Poṣadha vow.

II. The purification of hell and the instruction of its king.

avīcisaṃśodaṇaśrīdharmarājābhibodhana

With the second chapter we join the KV's narrative line. Upagupta describes to Aśoka the assembly in which Śākyamuni is teaching. Suddenly, rays of light burst out in every direction and wonderful portents appear. Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin asks the Buddha why this is happening. Avalokiteśvara, says the Buddha, has gone to the bottom of hell to rescue the beings dwelling there and these miracles are the sign of his activity.

Avalokiteśvara appears in the middle of the cauldron of boiling oil in which the very worst of the damned are condemned to stew. He emanates cooling rays, chilling the cauldron, and sends streams of cool water across the floor of Avīci hell. This upsets the guards in hell tremendously and they rush off to complain to their master, Yama. They relate to him what they have seen and he speculates as to who might have come into hell to see him. Using the magical ability to see at a distance, he perceives that it is, in fact, Avalokiteśvara and is deeply gladdened. He eulogizes Avalokiteśvara and promises to protect the Dharma.

III The birth of Maheśvara and the other gods.

śrīmaheśvarādidevasamutpādana

Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin asks Śrīghana why Avalokiteśvara has yet to appear. (He will do this in every single chapter up to the 16th, which reflects the distinction between the first and second

[13] See 2.3 on page 44.

*nirvyūha*s of the KV.) Avalokiteśvara has gone to the realm of the hungry ghosts, and is overcome with pity when he sees them. Merely by being there he generates a cooling effect, which startles the gaoler (*dvārapāla*) of the realm of the hungry ghosts.[14] He leaps to his feet, furious (*ruṣā*), but is touched by the cooling rays emanating from Avalokiteśvara's body and suddenly understands the evil he has done. Penitent, he decides to take monastic vows and comes to supplicate Avalokiteśvara.

Avalokiteśvara then relieves the suffering of the hungry ghosts by showering food and water forth from every pore of his body. When they are satiated, they ask him for teachings. He agrees on condition that they abide by whatever he might teach them.[15] They assent, and he gives them instructions on revering, remembering, and contemplating the Triple Jewel.

This story finished, Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin again asks Śrīghana when Avalokiteśvara will arrive. Śrīghana tells him about a past Buddha, Vipaśyin, who taught long ago. This is the first of several such narratives, and in each case Śrīghana describes the Buddha, his principal interlocutor, and what form he himself took in that past assembly. In this case Vipaśyin's interlocutor was Mahāmati, and Śrīghana was a merchant named Sugandha.

Vipaśyin describes the immeasurability of Avalokiteśvara's merit, and how all the deities and classes of supernatural being spring forth from Avalokiteśvara and worship him. In a reworking of the *Puruṣasūkta* in Ṛg Veda X, Avalokiteśvara is recast as Ādinātha.[16] Each of the brahminical gods is described originating from his body: Maheśvara from the eyes, Viṣṇu from the heart, and so on.[17] This image is one of the key features of the GKV for the Newars. It was realised for Śrinivāsa Malla (ruled Lalitpur 1661-84) as a golden window in the palace at Lalitpur. To this day it is only opened, and hence fully visible, once a year.

Having sprung forth, the gods then inquire of Avalokiteśvara what they should do, beginning with Maheśvara (N2 23v.7).[18]

bhagavan yadīme sarve bhavatā nirmitā vayaṃ |
tadarthe 'smān imān sarvān vyākarotu yathāvidhi[a] || III.181

Lord, if all of us have been created by you,
then please instruct us appropriately as to your purpose.

[a] –vidhi] vidhiḥ N2

Avalokiteśvara tells Śiva that in this Kali Yuga, when people desire and create false teachings,[19] he will be the lord of the Formless Realm. Deluded people will worship him, and he must protect them to the best of his ability, although they will only ever attain Śaivite heavens. Brahma, similarly, is assigned overlordship of the Form Realm, and Viṣṇu of the Realm of Desire. All the other deities are also given their instructions on their responsibilities to the unhappy and confused people of the Kali Yuga. He then addresses all the gods together, telling them that they must behave as mahāsattvas, taking up the path to enlightenment (*bodhicaryā*) for the sake of all beings. They assent to these instructions, and the chapter closes with a general commendation of the virtues of the Path.

[14] Although not named, he is clearly meant to be Śiva. [15] This condition recurs in every one of the Avalokiteśvara teaching narratives in the GKV. It seems a little inappropriate here, but makes more sense when, in the guise of a sympathetic figure, he teaches asuras and cannibals to worship Lokeśvara. [16] The language used in this passage suggests an assimilation with the cult of the great caitya at Svayaṃbhū. [17] There is a three stage development observable here, from the Ṛg Veda to the KV and then the GKV. [18] The numbering for this verse varies depending on the recension; in the 21 and 22 chapter versions, it's part of chapter IV. Here and in all following citations I will refer to manuscript N2 as a reference manuscript where there is no published edition. [19] False teachings here includes *mlecchadharmaḥ*, mentioned at III.296 (N2 24v.1). This almost certainly refers to Islam. While we know there was a Muslim community in Kathmandu from the 15th century, it's not clear whether this refers to Nepalese Islam or to the more apocalyptic construction of Islam which is found in late Buddhist tantra. Remember too that the Bengali sultan Shams ud-Din had ravaged the valley in the mid-14th century.

IV Transmitting the Dharma: instructing all beings by taking on all forms.

sarvākārasarvasattvaprabodhanasaddharmasañcāraṇa

As its crux, this chapter contains a discussion of Avalokiteśvara manifesting himself under the principle of *upāyakauśalya* to each being in the most appropriate form. Note that all the soteriological narrative chapters carefully specify the form in which he appears to various audiences. Here we begin with Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin inquiring after Avalokiteśvara's expected arrival. Śrīghana notes that he has gone on to rescue the beings of a different hell, but then offers to tell the story of a past Buddha, Śikhin. This marks the beginning of another nested narrative frame.

Long ago there was a Buddha named Śikhin, and Śrīghana was at that time a householder named Dānaśūra. Śikhin's interlocutor was Ratnapāṇi. When Śikhin was about to teach, there were miraculous portents.

The scene suddenly shifts to Sukhāvatī, where Avalokiteśvara is Amitābha's interlocutor. Seeing the wonderful display of lights which mark Śikhin's teaching, Avalokiteśvara asks for permission to visit Śikhin's assembly. Amitābha accedes, and Avalokiteśvara sets out, rescuing every class of sentient being and setting them on the path to Sukhāvatī as he goes.

Meanwhile, back in Śikhin's assembly, Ratnapāṇi sees a miraculous display: flowers rain down, wishing trees appear, and so on. Śikhin explains that it is Avalokiteśvara who is coming, and that he will arrive when he has rescued all sentient beings. Avalokiteśvara duly arrives.

He describes the realms he has traversed and the classes of beings he has rescued, reiterates his vow to rescue all sentient beings, and then asks Śikhin if he might leave so as to continue his work. Śikhin excuses him and Avalokiteśvara vanishes like a point of fire.

Ratnapāṇi, rather amazed by all this, asks Śikhin just how one bodhisattva could possibly achieve what Avalokiteśvara accomplishes. Śikhin then explains that Avalokiteśvara takes on the appropriate form to impel any class of sentient beings onto the Buddhist path. For Mahāyāna Buddhists, he may appear as a bodhisattva, or perhaps a lay Buddhist; for Śaivas he manifests as Śiva, and so on through all religions, social classes, professions, social relationships, and types of animal.[20]

As an example of this, Śikhin tells the story of Avalokiteśvara teaching the asuras living in a cave called Vajrakukṣi (N2 35r.5, IV.209). In order to win their trust, he manifests as the 'teacher of the asuras', presumably Śukrācārya, although the name is never used. They ask him to teach them the dharma. He makes them promise to act according to his teachings, and when they assent, he teaches them friendliness and compassion, to take refuge in the triple jewel, to perform the Poṣadha Vrata and to read and worship the Kāraṇḍavyūha.[21] If they do all of these things, they will never have bad rebirths, progress on the Path and eventually die and be reborn in Sukhāvatī, from where they will quickly attain enlightenment. They ask for clarification, and he explains the Poṣadha Vrata at greater length. When they have heard everything, they begin to act according to their teacher's instructions, and he then reveals himself as Avalokiteśvara.

V. Entering the Bodhisattva's way: instructing the intractable asuras.

durdāntadānavaprabodhanabodhicaryāvatāraṇa

Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin again asks Śrīghana when he might finally see Avalokiteśvara. In reply, Śrīghana tells the story of Avalokiteśvara going to liberate the asuras living in a realm called Kāñcanamayī. For these asuras, Avalokiteśvara sends forth light-rays of compassion which surround the asuras and make them happy. While they are wondering about the origin of these rays, he

[20] This is an entirely different strategy for managing Śaivism from that presented in the previous chapter. Note, too, that plants are not on the list here; the lowest it goes is worms and bugs (*kṛmikiṭi*). [21] Within nested narratives such as this one, the text to be venerated is always the KV. On the question of the GKV and the KV, see the discussion at 2.3 on page 51 as well as chapter three.

appears to these asuras as well in the guise of Śukrācārya. They ask about the light-rays, and he promises to explain if they agree to abide by his teachings. He then tells them about Avalokiteśvara, the lord Karuṇāmaya, and his work in saving all sentient beings. The light-rays are an emanation of his compassion, and anyone who worships him is bound to be reborn in Sukhāvatī and attain liberation. He explains the right way to worship Avalokiteśvara, including (again) a detailed account of the Poṣadha Vrata. As before, when these asuras take up the prescribed practices their teacher reveals himself to them as none other than Avalokiteśvara.

Śrīghana assures Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin that this is how he heard the story when Śikhin was teaching Ratnapāṇi.

VI Rescuing the topsy-turvy asuras.

adhomukhasattvoddhāraṇa

In response to Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin's inevitable question, Śrīghana this time tells of another past Buddha, Viśvabhū, whose interlocutor was Gaganagañja.[22] At that time, Śrīghana himself was an ascetic hermit.

Viśvabhū tells Gaganagañja the story of another occasion on which Avalokiteśvara went to liberate the asuras of Kāñcanamayī, asuras known as *adhomukha*, perhaps meaning 'upside down'.[23] Again preceded by soothing light-rays generated through his great compassion, he appears to them as a ṛṣi, and they ask him to tell their fortunes (*daivam ākhyātum arhati* N2 43r.2, VI.27) and explain what evils they might have done to attain such a rebirth. In a familiar pattern, he asks them to abide by whatever he should teach them, and then teaches them the basic practices of the Buddhist Path, including recollection of the triple jewel and practice of the Poṣadha Vrata. They respond by addressing him with a hymn asking for teachings (N2 43v.1, VI.38-51), although they do not yet realize he is Avalokiteśvara. He then tells them about the Kāraṇḍavyūha, devotion to which will win them human rebirth, after which they will be able to progress on the Path. When they do indeed act as he has taught them, the ṛṣi disappears in a flash of light .

VII Rescuing the fourfold beings of the Golden Land.

rūpamayībhūmicatuṣpādapuruṣoddhāraṇa

Śrīghana now relates to Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin another story of Avalokiteśvara's mass of merit which Viśvabhū taught to Gaganagañja. This chapter, although short, is crucial. In it, Avalokiteśvara goes to preach to human beings in the land of gold. He takes the form of a god and offers to teach them about the Triple Jewel. After an explanation of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, they sing him a eulogy and beg him to stay. He explains that he cannot, but instead teaches them the Kāraṇḍavyūha, best of the Mahāyāna sūtras. When they are firmly established on the Path, he vanishes in a puff of fire. This chapter, especially when compared to chapter IX, appears to explain the origin of the KV in human history.

VIII Entering the Bodhisattva path: the awakening of Bali

balisaṃbodhanabodhimārgāvatāraṇa

Bali, king of the asuras, who was banished to Pāṭalaloka for his arrogance by the dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu, is the subject of this long chapter. Avalokiteśvara goes next to his realm, and following a pattern familiar from previous chapters Bali is at first suspicious, then delighted when he recognizes

---

22 Frequently spelled Gagaṇagañja both in this and other Nepalese sources. I have followed the spelling in the *Mahāvyutpatti*.

23 It seems to me that this might refer to the iconography of some asuras, whose mouths are in their abdomens. These figure frequently in the horrible armies sent to frighten Śākyamuni on the night of his awakening.

Avalokiteśvara. He pours forth a poem expressing the joy he feels now that he has met Avalokiteśvara and fulfilled the purpose of his life.[24] He implores Avalokiteśvara to act as a protector and saviour for the confused; Avalokiteśvara responds by teaching him to venerate and recollect the Triple Jewel, placing special emphasis on the virtue of making donations (*dāna*) to the Saṅgha. There follow a number of comparisons with extraordinarily large numbers, showing the uncountability of the mass of merit accumulated through donation to the Saṅgha.

Bali then proceeds to lament his evil ways and pitiable state, all due to his unwise adoption of non-Buddhist teachings (*tīrthikaśāsanam*). He retells the story of being trampled by the dwarf-incarnation of Viṣṇu, and complains at length of his and his retinue's sorry state. Bali begs Avalokiteśvara to teach them the Dharma, which he proceeds to do. Avalokiteśvara first tells Bali to give up his evil ways and stop associating with the wrong sort of people, then instructs him at rather more length on worshipping the Triple Jewel, continuing to emphasize the importance of charity.

The constant emphasis on charity in this chapter is a reflection of the primary concern of the parallel chapter in the KV, which also includes long excursuses and comparisons designed to show the incalculably great effects of making donations to the saṅgha. The GKV diverges and expands, however, and Avalokiteśvara now describes a set of practices exemplifying each of the six perfections. Bali thanks him for this instruction and promises to abide by it. Suddenly, he utters forth a string of verses from the earlier chapters of the BCA, beginning with the verses for the confession of sins,[25] and the remainder of the chapter consists of borrowed and adapted verse material.

IX Entering the true Dharma: awakening the yakṣas and rākṣasas of the Blinding Darkness Land.

tamondhakārabhūmiyakṣarākṣasaparibodhanasaddharmāvatāraṇa

In response to Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin's question, Śrīghana tells how, as Avalokiteśvara emanates his wonderful rays, a magical lotus, wishing-trees and so forth manifested in the Jeta garden where Viśvabhū was teaching. Gaganagañja asks Viśvabhū about this, and he explains that it is the sign of Avalokiteśvara going to the Blinding Darkness[26] Land. Why, asks Gaganagañja, would Avalokiteśvara want to go someplace where the sun and moon are unknown? (N2 73r.7, IX.28) Because, answers that Buddha, there are yakṣas and rākṣasas there who need rescuing.

Avalokiteśvara arrives, shining like the moon, and proceeds to teach the inhabitants to memorize, venerate, and copy out the KV. He describes the merit that accrues to those who treat it properly. The yakṣas and rākṣasas are delighted, and demand that he stay. They will build him a golden stūpa and organize a chariot festival.[27]

---

[24] This poem is one of the only direct citations of the KV within the GKV; it carries on for two more ślokas in the GKV. (N2 48r.2, VIII.16-23). A similar poem is found at the end of the chapter. [25] The extracts from the BCA here and in chapter XVII are discussed at more length in chapter two. [26] Or 'darkness-darkness' land; the point is that this place is pitch black all the time. [27] Here again, the two great poles of Nepalese Buddhism, Būgadyaḥ and Svayaṃbhū, are assimilated. While in most modern and indeed most historical material, the two cults are distinct and identified with Lokeśvara and Mañjuśrī respectively, I might note that the eleventh-century illustrated manuscripts which refer to Nepal list two Lokeśvaras, one at Būga and one at Svayaṃbhū; moreover, the image usually identified as Mañjuśrī on the Svayaṃbhū hill is obviously an old Padmapaṇī Lokeśvara. This is by no means to suggest that the Mañjuśrī cult centred on Svayaṃbhū is more recent, only that there appears to be substantial evidence for a Lokeśvara cult at Svayaṃbhū which justifies this language in the GKV.

tatas te nanditāḥ sarve bhūyas taṃ triguṇādhipaṃ
kṛtāñjalipuṭo natvā prārthayanty evam ādarāt
bhagavan anubodhe naḥ saddharmaṃ samupadiśan
viharasva sadātraiva kva cid anyatra mā vraja
svarṇaratnatrayaṃ stūpaṃ kṛtvā dāsyāmahe[a] *'tra te*
rathacaṃkramayātrāṃ[b] *ca kariṣyāmo jagatprabho*
sadā te śaraṇe sthitvā pītvā dharmāmṛtaṃ mudā
(N2 75v.2, IX.81c–84)

[a] dāsyāmahe] dāsatamahe J N2 [b] T: rathaṃ–, following the Newari

Then they were all delighted, and once again bowing with folded hands to the Master of the Three Threads, they respectfully asked: Lord, enlighten us. Teach us the True Dharma. Stay here forever! You musn't go elsewhere. We'll build a stūpa with the Three Jewels in gold and give it to you here. We'll set up a chariot procession for you, Lord of the world, and take refuge with you forever and happily drink in the nectar of the Dharma!

He demurs, pointing out that he has to go other places, such as the realm of Śuddhavāsī, to save other beings, but they will be able to take refuge in his teachings. They return to their homes and practise as he has taught them.

X Rescuing the devaputra Sukuṇḍala

śuddhāvāsikasukuṇḍaladevaputroddhāraṇa

Without referring to the enclosing narrative, the dialogue between Gaganagañja and Viśvabhū continues — and now it is Gaganagañja who longs for Avalokiteśvara to make an appearance. Viśvabhū tells him of Avalokiteśvara's visit to the miserable devaputra Sukuṇḍala. The bodhisattva adopts the form of a brahmin and waits outside Sukuṇḍala's door, hoping for alms. Sukuṇḍala has nothing, however, and apologizes. The brahmin begs again, saying that without Sukuṇḍala's charity he will certainly die. Depressed, Sukuṇḍala retreats to have a last look at his larder and is astonished to find it full of every kind of wealth. Understanding thus that the brahmin at his door must be his true guru, he rushes back and bows to Avalokiteśvara, ushers him into the house, places him on the best seat and honours him with all the luxuries he has found in his own house.

Avalokiteśvara then blesses him, and asks him if he would like to come along to the wonderful garden of Viśvabhū, who teaches refuge in the three jewels and is worshipped by every class of being. Sukuṇḍala, astonished, asks this brahmin what he actually is — a god? a man? an asura? — to which Avalokiteśvara responds, "I am a bodhisattva, upholding the welfare of every sentient being." Avalokiteśvara repeats his invitation to go join the saṅgha in the Jeta garden, and Sukuṇḍala agrees to follow Avalokiteśvara there.

XI Rescuing the rākṣasīs of Śrī Laṅkā by teaching them.

siṃhaladvīparākṣasīparibodhanoddhāraṇa

The narrative frame remains with Viśvabhū and Gaganagañja for this chapter, which is apparently a reflex of the older and more famous story told in chapter XV. Here Avalokiteśvara goes to the island of flesh-eating seductresses and converts them to Buddhism.[28]

XII Rescuing the bugs and worms of Vārāṇasī

vārāṇasīkṛmikīṭoddhāraṇa

Avalokiteśvara rescues the worms living in the sewage system of Vārānasi. He takes the form of a happy bee who flies overhead humming 'Namo buddhāya dharmāya saṅghāya' and when the worms recollect his tune, they enter the Path and are reborn in Sukhāvatī after only two rebirths.[29]

[28] Logically this is a problem, as had he really done so before the events of chapter XV the horrific events portrayed there would never have taken place. [29] I have published a preliminary edition and translation of this chapter in Douglas (1998).

XIII Rescuing the beings of Magadha by teaching them.

māgadhikasattvaprabodhanoddhāraṇa
Avalokiteśvara goes to Magadha, where there has been such a severe drought that the inhabitants are reduced to cannibalism. He causes rain to fall and restores them to the Path.

This chapter is taken by Amoghavajra Vajrācārya (NS 1066 (1946 CE: 143ff.) to be the basis for the story of Būgadyaḥ as rain god. In fact, this brief chapter cannot actually be the basis for the long and elaborate story of Būgadyaḥ, who is brought to Nepāl Maṇḍala after many trials by Bandhudatta Ācārya together with King Narendra and a farmer in order to break a twelve-year drought imposed by Gorakhnāth. That story is indeed retold in the eighth chapter of the longer recension of the SvP, but its origins remain obscure.[30]

XIV Arriving at Sukhāvatī to see Viśvabhū in the Jeta Garden.

śrījetārāmaviśvabhūdarśanasukhāvatīpratyudgama
We finally return to the surrounding dialogue between Śrīghana and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin. Śrīghana now recollects the time when he was a student in Viśvabhū's teaching assembly and Avalokiteśvara actually came to the Jeta Grove. Viśvabhū identifies him to his assembly, and asks how many beings he has enlightened or placed on the Path. Avalokiteśvara gives a summary of all his journeys through hells and other realms rescuing beings — in effect, a plot summary of the work so far — and then lists all the classes of beings he has rescued. By the end of this list, Viśvabhū is laughing and Gaganagañja, awestruck, asks him to stay and teach. Avalokiteśvara reminds him of his vow to save all beings and says he cannot possibly stay. They exchange blessings, and Viśvabhū, still laughing, gives a concise teaching on the entire path, enumerating each of the six perfections. When he has finished, Avalokiteśvara disappears and Śrīghana closes his story by recapitulating the benefits of the Path.

XV Rescuing the Laṅkā trader.

siṃhalasārthavāhoddhāraṇa
This chapter is the only portion of the GKV to have received significant scholarly attention, largely through Siegfried Lienhard's careful studies. This story is old and widespread, and has not only a prior but a subsequent life as it is transformed in subsequent Newari versions into the story of a merchant lost in Tibet. It also accounts for a large number of the illustrations in any illustrated manuscript of either the KV or the GKV.

It begins with Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin asking Śrīghana how Avalokiteśvara rescues all sentient beings. Śrīghana explains that Avalokiteśvara has countless methods and samādhis which he can utilize, dhārāṇīs, vidyās, and so on. Indeed, says Śrīghana, "He once protected me from great danger — listen and I will tell you what once happened to me." (*aham api puro tena saṃrakṣate mahābhayāt | yan mama tat puro vṛttaṃ śṛṇudhvaṃ vakṣyate 'dhunā* ||N2 91r.6)

Once upon a time, a merchant (who would eventually become Śrīghana) together with a retinue of five hundred is blown off course at sea and washed up on the island of Śrī Laṅkā, where they are greeted by gorgeous and lonesome women. The men all settle into life on the island with great joy, but one night the merchant captain is alerted by Avalokiteśvara, who appears to him in the wick of his candle, that in fact the women are all rākṣasīs preparing to eat them. They have one chance for

[30] For a summary of the different versions of the story and their sources, see Locke (1973). The sources for Āśā Kaji Vajrācārya's retelling of the story (Vajrācārya 1980) remain unclear; however, the fact that Būgadyaḥ is identified with Matsyendranāth in the GKV (see chapter 5) removes what was thought to be an obstacle. The assumption has been until now that this identification was a late development and thus there ought to have been a Malla-period version of the story which did not use the name Matsyendranāth.



Figure 1.1: The magical horse Balāha rescues Śrī Sārthavāha. From a manuscript of the GKV sold at auction in London, 2000.

escape: the miraculous horse Balāha, who alights on the island once a year, will carry them to safety if they grab onto him firmly and never look back. Many of the men do, of course, look back and fall to a horrible doom.

XVI The teaching and prediction of the full enlightenment of Śiva and Umā, their establishment on the path, and the rescuing of all beings.

sarvasattvoddhāraṇasaṃbodhimārgasthāpanamaheśvaromādevīsaṃbodhivyākaraṇopadeśa

This single chapter makes up most of the second half of the KV. While proportionally it is not so long in the GKV, it still contains the crux of the plot and the resolution of Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin's wrenching desire to encounter Avalokiteśvara, and indeed this has remarkably little to do with the topic as announced in the chapter title. We might better call it 'The Vision Quest of Śrīghana in search of the ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā'.

Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin again asks when Avalokiteśvara will arrive. Śrīghana reiterates that he will arrive eventually. Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin then asks how many dharmas Avalokiteśvara has, to which Śrīghana replies that Avalokiteśvara in fact constitutes everything. He begins to describe the unimaginable inclusive totality of Avalokiteśvara by describing in detail the worlds contained in each of the pores of his skin.

In one of these worlds, the inhabitants know of a powerful mantra, the six-syllabled mantra which is the very essence of Avalokiteśvara. Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin begs Śrīghana to give him this *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā*, and Śrīghana describes his own arduous quest for the *mahāvidyā*: first to the Buddha Ratnottara, then to the Buddha Padmottara. Padmottara himself goes to Sukhāvatī in search of the mantra and gets it from Avalokiteśvara at the specific instructions of Amitābha, and then returns to transmit it to Śrīghana.

Śrīghana, for his part, tells Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin to go to Vārāṇasī and request transmission of the mantra from an *upāsaka* Buddha living there. Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin duly sets out, and Avalokiteśvara appears to that upāsaka Buddha and tells him to give the mantra to Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin.

In the final section of this chapter, which is counted separately in the 22 and 21 chapter versions, Maheśvara and Pārvatī ask Avalokiteśvara for instruction. He teaches them and predicts their eventual Buddhahood.

XVII Members of the assembly return to their own realm, delighted and uplifted by hearing the Dharma.

sarvasabhālokasaddharmaśravaṇotsāhasaṃpramoditasvasvālayapratigamana

Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, finally having achieved *darśana* of Avalokiteśvara, is happy and fulfilled. Nonetheless, he asks one last time to hear the qualities of Avalokiteśvara extolled. Śrīghana uses comparisons of uncountability, familiar from the transitional passage of III and elsewhere, e.g. it is possible to count all the drops of water in all the oceans, but it is not possible to count the mass of Avalokiteśvara's merit. He then relates the story of the most recent Buddha, Krakucchanda, in whose time he (Śākyamuni or Śrīghana) was a bodhisattva named Dānaśūra. All the classes of being came to hear Krakucchanda teach.[31] Both Avalokiteśvara and Samantabhadra are among the assembly, and they stage an alternating sequence of miraculous samādhis beginning at XVII.28. There are in this passage elements of competition between the cults of the two mahāsattvas. The phrasing has an "anything you can do, I can do better" feel to it; for example, when Samantabhadra expressed his

[31] Although shorter than some, this is intended to be an exhaustive list of all kinds of being, beginning with the gods and ending with foreigners.

manliness by achieving the samādhi called the Nondual as Yawned by a Lion, Avalokiteśvara replies with Lion's Play.

yadā samantabhadraś ca bodhisattvaḥ suvīryavān
samāpede samādhiṃ yat
siṃhavijṛṃbhitādvayam[a] |
tadā Lokeśvaraś cāpi bodhisattvaḥ suvīryavān
samāpede samādhiṃ yat siṃhavikrīḍitābhidham ||
XVII.38-9 N2 156r.4

[a] In the KV, this is the *siṃhaviṣkambhitaṃ nāma samādhiṃ*, the samādhi "made firm as a lion", or quite possibly, "fixed in the lion's mouth". On the relation between *viṣkhambhaṇan* and gaping lion's mouths, see Edgerton (II, p.502b).

And when Samantabhadra, the heroic bodhisattva, achieved that meditative state called the Nondual as Yawned by a Lion, then Lokeśvara, also a heroic bodhisattva, achieved that samādhi known as Lion's Play.

The episode ends with Samantabhadra, and then all the other bodhisattvas, bowing to Avalokiteśvara and acknowledging his unique abilities. Krakucchanda then tells them that they have not seen anything like the full range of Avalokiteśvara's abilities.

This entire passage is faithful to the KV original. In the context of the fifth century it makes some sense to see a rivalry played out between the competing cults of bodhisattvas, but it is surprising to find that the rivalry was faithfully carried over into the GKV, and indeed updated.

XVIII Teaching on student conduct.

śikṣāsaṃvarasamuddeśa
Where the equivalent, very short, chapter in the KV is simply a description of how students should act, this is a lengthy chapter which borrows heavily from the later chapters of the BCA. For a discussion of the contents and sources, see 2.2.2 on page 47 .

XVIII The merciful gaze.

kṛpādṛṣṭi
This, along with the first chapter, has no basis in the KV and is entirely new material. It was not identified as a separate chapter until the renumbered version of the GKV, probably done by Amṛtānanda. This closes up the narrative frames opened at the beginning of the text and commends the work as a powerful charm, good for those desiring children, hoping to avert or cure sickness, fearful of travelling on the ocean, and other *laukika* concerns. It also briefly summarizes the plot of the soteriological narrative, although it avoids the esoteric matter of chapter XVI, and rather pointedly describes the importance of the GKV for political stability and the regular cycle of rainfall.

1.4 Previous studies

The GKV first came to the attention of western scholars through the work of Brian Hodgson, who catalogued it in his first publication (1828) on the Sanskrit tradition of the Newars. At that time, although he knew the Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa was a Newar production (and existed in several versions) he does not seem to have known that the GKV was one too, although he subsequently revised his opinion.[32] Hodgson wrote extensively on Newar Buddhism, and his notes, most of which are held

[32] See the discussion of this problem below.

in the British Library,[33] have continued to provide fodder for subsequent scholars including Brough and Gellner. His greatest contribution, however, was the great mass of manuscripts he exported from Nepal. These are today held in six distinct collections: the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the Royal Asiatic Society in London, the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, the Société Asiatique in Paris, and the St. Petersburg collection. Manuscripts of the GKV can be found in all of these caches bar Oxford and St. Petersburg. A union catalogue of all the Hodgson manuscripts collated together with his notes would greatly advance the study of Nepalese history and society up to 1850.

As knowledge of these texts and their tradition disseminated, so too did scholarly activity, and in 1844 Eugene Burnouf, lacking a readable manuscript of the KV, turned instead to a manuscript of the GKV[34] to write the first account of the GKV in any Western language (1876: 197). Although he correctly speculated that the prose version was older, he assumed that they were both Indian in origin. Taking the two texts to be essentially the same, he used the GKV as a source for studying Indian Buddhism. He summarized it in some detail, including the (characteristically Nepalese) framing narratives; and in his discussion of the language he recognized the similarity of the style and diction to that of the purāṇas. Burnouf, although he was describing a text that was not Indian, remained the most perceptive commentator for the subsequent century.

Mitra's blunder. The next important mention of the GKV is in Rajendra Lal Mitra's crucial *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*. This annotated catalogue of the Hodgson manuscripts held in the Asiatic Society's archives in Calcutta contains several helpful summaries and commentary, although it perpetuates Burnouf's error in confusing the GKV and the KV. The error is immediately evident upon comparing the entries for the Kāraṇḍavyūha and Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha (Mitra 1981: 95, 101). The longer text (as noted in the catalogue data at the head of the entry) is given the correct name of Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha, and the description of the contents is accurate; as Mitra notes the details of the framing narrative we can be sure he is talking about the Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha. The head entry for the Kāraṇḍavyūha describes a shorter prose text. Yet his commentary on the Kāraṇḍavyūha introduces a bundle of falsities.

> A highly amplified version of the work noticed under the name Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha. The work is in prose, but has been amplified from the poetical version abovenamed (*sic*). The names and incidents have in some cases been modified or changed, and many new incidents and stories have been worked in.

The peculiarity of this error is less surprising when one realises the number of different scholars involved in producing Mitra's volume. Three pandits (Harināth Vidyāratna, Rāmanāth Tarkaratna and Kāmākhyānāth Tarkavāgīśa) were hired to do the actual work of compiling the data and summaries and the noted scholar H.P. Śāstri was called in to work on the project when Mitra fell ill (1981: xlii-xliii). In the table of contents the discussion of the Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha (but not the Kāraṇḍavyūha) is credited to Śāstri, and the confusion may well derive from a lack of coordination among the various scholars working on the project.

Perhaps because SBLN is one of the handiest reference works for the study of Nepalese Sanskrit Buddhist literature, this same confusion became firmly embedded in much of the subsequent scholarship. This inheritance extends to key modern historians of Nepal such as John Locke, who writes

[33] As a result of research underway for a collection of essays on Hodgson edited by David Waterhouse, other significant caches of Hodgson documents have come to light; I hope to prepare a complete list for publication.

[34] It has been no small vexation to me that I have never been able to trace the whereabouts of this manuscript, referred to by both Burnouf and Mitra, although it must be in the possession of the Société Asiatique or more likely the Bibliothèque Nationale.

> There is a shorter, verse version of the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*, probably written about the tenth century, which is much more explicitly theistic than the earlier prose version. (Locke 1980: 409)

Locke's uncharacteristic confusion here is shared by summary handbooks such as Winternitz (1927-1933) and Nariman (1920).

Although the 1920s saw the advent of the noted Newari scholar Hans Jørgensen, he in fact never published on the GKV. Tucci's 1923 article, which I will have reason to consider in the second chapter, is much more careful and accurate in describing the relationship between the GKV and its sources. He correctly surmises that it is a late production, and is the first scholar to note that it contains substantial extracts from the BCA. Within the valley, Amoghavajra Vajrācārya's *Lokeśvarayā Paricaya* was published in 1946. It was a wide-ranging attempt to systematize all the legends about Karuṇāmaya in all his forms and relate them to texts within the Newar Vajrayāna tradition, including the GKV. P.C. Majumder contributed a sparse summary of the text with little analysis in 1948. C. Regamey (Regamey 1954, 1957) used the GKV as well as the KV in careful philological studies of the language of the Buddhist sūtras, although he does not devote an article exclusively to the GKV. Iwamoto Yutaka's edition of chapter XV (the story of Siṃhalasārthavāha) appeared in 1974, based on two or three Japanese manuscripts, but he appears to have done no subsequent work on the text.

In the past few decades, however, the work of Ratna Handurukande, Michael Hahn, Gudrun Bühnemann and others has opened up the possibility of a systematic study of the Nepalese Sanskrit Buddhist literature. Siegfried Lienhard, one of the only scholars in the past decades to have used a knowledge of Old Newari to advantage, has published several articles on the Siṃhalasārthavāha story within the GKV (see especially Lienhard 1993) and its traditions, and J Tatelman in his 1996 Oxford thesis on another of the NSB texts, the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna*, looks to the GKV for comparative material. The recent publication of a Newari translation of the GKV (Sakya 1997) has made the text much more accessible both for popular and scholarly debate within the scholarly communities in the Kathmandu Valley. Lokesh Chandra's 1999 publication of the Sanskrit text is unreliable. Based on one or more late manuscripts but lacking any apparatus, it breaks the text up into 21 chapters and includes material at the new chapter breaks not found in the nineteenth-century 21-chapter versions.[35]

1.5 On the language of the GKV

The Sanskrit in which these texts were composed shows a degree of linguistic shift towards a Newarized dialect of Classical Sanskrit. As the presence of linguistically unusual forms is a diagnostic feature for dating and identifying these texts, I will try to catalogue and explain the various peculiarities proper to this stratum. These forms tend to be grammatical features which, although they are incorrect (and sometimes unintelligible) in terms of Classical Sanskrit, have a good explanation when understood in terms of the grammar of Newari. Previous studies of this material include Tatelman (1996) and useful essays by Handurukande (1967), Brough (1954), Regamey (1954), and Takahata (1954).

[35] As I met with Prof. Chandra in 1998 and discussed my project of editing the GKV with him at the time—without his mentioning that his father had located a manuscript —I was surprised to see this publication. The rough nature of the publication is made clear by the proof marks preserved in the text (e.g. p. 120). In subsequent correspondence he claimed there were two manuscripts which he had used, but the lack of any critical apparatus and the idiosyncratic text he published suggests that it was one 20th century manuscript. This book is an uncharacteristic departure from his earlier publications, which are invaluable for the study of Nepalese Buddhism.

1.5.1 Scribal error and linguistic shift

Brough, reviewing Edgerton's seminal grammar and dictionary of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, carefully distinguishes between genuine morphological variants and those variants which are a result of consistent scribal error.[36] We should therefore limit our catalogue of unusual forms by applying Brough's razor to the material. However, the thrust of Brough's argument is that we should not confuse scribal errors, even those so consistent as to be an utterly predictable feature of the scribes' work, with genuine linguistic change. The difficulty with the Newar Sanskrit literature is that quite a few of the forms we encounter do indeed appear to reflect linguistic shift.

If the language of the Newar Buddhist sūtras shows signs of divergence from the Classical standard, there is ample evidence in colophons and chronicles of a more advanced shift. The best documented instance is the late fourteenth-century chronicle called the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*. While a linguistic analysis of the Sanskritic portion of this text is too ambitious for us to attempt here, it is worth noting that the process of drift from proper Sanskrit is far more advanced, to the point of incomprehensibility in some cases. The orthography is haphazard, but the syntax has also changed considerably. Bearing in mind that this chronicle dates from a century before the literary texts, the peculiarities of Nepalese Sanskrit Buddhist literature are much less frequent or confusing than might be found in contemporary Sanskrit texts in other genres.

Moreover, some of the scribal errors which Brough documents appear to be something rather more. For example, the regular substitution of *kh* for *ṣ* which leads modern Newars and Tibetans to refer to 'Khetakṣarī Lokeśvara' where the underlying Sanskrit is 'Ṣaḍakṣarī' derives from a phonetic shift. On the other hand, the confusion of *ś*, *ṣ* and *s* arises because they are nearly indistinguishable in Newari. The scribes do their best, but *ś* and *s* swap places easily—for example, all manuscripts write Vārānaśī—and the alternation between *ṣ* and *ś* occurs within the space of a verse or two. Given the wide distribution of these pronunciation shifts and the degree to which they have influenced the manuscript tradition, this may regarded as a feature of Indo-Aryan.

The problem is perhaps simply one of dating. Brough's criticisms are aimed at source materials written in the mediæval period which were then transmitted through the hands of the Newars. He does not consider that they might have composed some of the texts in their own libraries. While he is aware of a layer of mediæval verse avadānas (Brough 1954) he assumes that these were composed in India.

In trying to isolate forms particular to Newar Sanskrit, Edgerton and Handurukande's discussions have been helpful insofar as they are largely directed to texts which are known not to be of Nepalese origin. While a surprisingly large number of Nepalese texts have been edited or published in the last fifty years, almost none had seen the light of print before Edgerton's encyclopedic work. Handurukande's grammatical comments, so far as I can see, apply to the prose text she is editing and not to the fragment from the SvP which contains a parallel story (Handurukande 1967: pp. xv-xvi).

1.5.2 Expected scribal errors

The following list is based on Brough's work as well as the exceedingly helpful introduction by Handurukande to her edition of the *Maṇicūḍāvadāna*, Senart's notes for the *Mahāvastu* and my own observations. This is intended to be a help in deciphering Nepalese manuscripts as well as a filter which will help to discriminate between features proper to Newar Sanskrit and artifacts which do not reflect linguistic shift. I try to note where possible which of these mistakes are visual and which auditory.

ja for ya This occurs regularly in one manuscript of the GKV (C&E19). However, Handurukande notes it as a regular feature.

[36] The same point is also made in Regamey (1954)

tya and bhya These are similar ligatures in Newari script.

ra and la Very common, even in such well-known words as *vihāra*. *la* is never substituted for *ra* before another consonant, however, suggesting that the auditory confusion only occurs when the semivowels occur alone.

ra and na This is a visual error characteristic of Newari script only, and found only in later manuscripts.

doubled consonant after *r* and consequent confusion Brough discusses the problem of the doubled consonant after r at some length, noting that any doubled consonant may then attract a superscript *r*. The doubling also tends to obscure other letters, so that *ākarṇya* is routinely *ākarṇṇa*⟵*ākarṇṇya* where the *y* is simply lost as a glyph in the ligature.

ṣ → kh Not necessarily a scribal error. See 1.5.3 on page 25 below.

ṣ ↔ ś There is no distinction in the pronunciation of these two sibilants in Nepal.

s ↔ ś Less common; but, for example, *satatam* can become *śatatam*.

śra → śu Especially common where *śuddha–* replaces *śraddhā–*. See I.91, 141, 172 and so on.

i, ī The scribes often confuse these two. However, note that the hero of the GKV is always Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhī, where Edgerton and the KV have *-nīvaraṇa-*.

u, ū In the later Newari script, the long *ū* is only occasionally distinguished and the length of the vowel seems to have been lost.

final o Where *o* represents final *-aḥ*, in some manuscripts it collapses into *ā*, and *ā* and *o* are indiscriminately represented by *ā*.

anusvāra Often omitted. Sometimes added pleonastically at the end of whole or half verse as well as the final *-m*.

ddh → dh Especially in the word *saddharma*.

1.5.3 NSB linguistic features.

Phonetic shifts

It is clear from the evidence above that there is a progressive loss of distinction among certain sets of sounds, often within specific phonological contexts. That the sound is relevant, rather than (as is often the case in specific scribal mistakes) the shape of the letter, points up the way in which the scribes actually stored the text in short-term memory while transferring it from the master to the fresh copy. It was, of course, recited rather than seen.[37] This helps to explain the free variation between *ś*, and *ṣ*; as with modern Newari or Bengali, there is no difference in pronunciation between the two sounds.

Something similar is responsible for a particular sort of inability to spell sometime seen in otherwise competent speakers of English. Most educated speakers of English in industrialised countries *see* a word when they are asked to spell it. Errors are then often errors of transposition which, if we paused to consider the phonetic result, we would immediately discard. But some adults and most

[37] This does not mean there are no consistent mistakes based on visual errors as well. See *tya*, above.

young children rely on the sound of a word to aid in its spelling, which leads to a very different class of spelling mistake. With this in mind, we should note, for example, that the substitution of *j* for *y* seems to occur much more frequently in stressed positions.

This sort of error, however, remains an error until a genuine phonetic shift develops. A careful scribe or editor[38] is aware that there is a right Sanskrit spelling and will where possible restore it.[39] If, therefore, we find certain apparently orthographic errors recurring consistently even in very good manuscripts, then it may make sense to suspect that more is happening than just misspelling.

This is apparently the case with the shift from *ṣ* to *kh*, which happens consistently. It is noted by most commentators, and appears to be a one-way shift. As I noted above, modern Newars pronounce *ṣ* as *kh*, although not in all positions (e.g., *Viṣṇu*). Strong evidence for this shift in the manuscripts is observed without special remark by Handurukande, who notes that the same substitution is found *within* consonant clusters (Handurukande 1967: n. 48 p. xiii). If it were a question of indistinct pronunciation, as *y*↔*j* is, we might expect to see it vary contextually, which it does not.[40] In the case of the *ṣ* →*kh* shift, it appears to be a feature of certain Indo-Aryan dialects, and not a feature derived from Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages. In support of this, note that the same shift occurs in Bhraj.[41] Exactly when it surfaces as a feature is unclear, however, as we also have Sanskrit (*ṣ*+*ka*) → Pāli *kkha*, as in Pāli *pokkharaṇī* = Skt. *puṣkariṇī*, and, by contrast, the same shift does not occur in Bengali.[42] For my purposes here it is enough to know that the shift *ṣ* → *kh* is not a consistent scribal error but a genuine phonetic shift in Newari pronunciation of Sanskrit words; although not attributable to the Tibeto-Burman roots of Newari, it is nonetheless characteristic of the language of the NBS texts.

Use of the instrumental with active verb forms

bhavatām api arthāya karomy upāyakaṃ mayā| HPS ed. SvPur. p. 452

The converse inappropriate use of the nominative

iti saṃprārthitaṃ tena viṣkambhinā niśamya saḥ || XVI.3ab (N2 122r.1)

Here it is apparent from the context that *tena* and *saḥ* are meant to refer to the same person.

Bhūte kṛdanta as active finite verb.

kim asmābhiḥ kṛtaṃ pāpaṃ yenāmedhyāśritā vayaṃ |
iti vicintya te sarve kṛmayas tatsukhecchitāḥ || XII.11 (N2 83v.3)
The meaning is clearly, "So thought all the worms, desiring his happiness."

[38] There is ample evidence that the better scribes of the Nepalese manuscripts did attempt to critically edit their texts.

[39] This is unfortunately not true for Newari, where the orthography is not at all fixed, and the demands of the language (e.g., to distinguish between long and short nasals) are not always met by the script.

[40] The *y* → *j* shift has, however, occurred in Bengali, where *y* when it occurs initially is always pronounced *dz*.

[41] My thanks to Imre Bhanga for this.

[42] This offers the possibility of dating the change rather precisely, as a significant number of the refugee scholars and monks who flooded into Nepal after 1200 were, of course, Bengali. The close communication between Pāla Bengal and Nepal has been described for architectural and painterly style by John Huntington. It is evidenced in the manuscript tradition in the adoption of certain Bengali letterforms. Given the force of the Bengali influence, it should be possible to review the occurrence of this shift in the manuscript tradition of an older text and thereby discern whether the shift comes before or after the 13th century.

Optative and finite past confusion.

saddharmaṃ samupādeṣṭum ārabhej jagaddhite || IV.20cd (N2 28r.2)
kadeha samupāgacchet draṣṭum icchāmi taṃ prabhuṃ || IV.2cd (N2 27r.6)
kadāsau trijagannātho lokeśvara ihāvrajet | V.3ab (N2 37v.6)
The meaning in the first case is a narrative past tense, and in the second two are ordinary optatives. This same feature was noted by Takahata (1954: xix) in his edition of the *Ratnamālāvadana*. He speculates that the form may be changed where needed for the metre, in which case the first example would have been an imperfect and the second an optative. This verbal form is not unusual in BHS and may be a survival carried in the BHS texts which the Nepalese Buddhist paṇḍits frequently used.

Absolutives

As noted by Takahata (1954: xix), absolutives in *-tvā* with an upasarga are common. For the verb √*smṛ* in chapter XVI it seems that gerunds are only constructed with *-tvā*. We find as examples the following: *anusaṃsmṛtvā* (XVI.39c N2 123v.2), *abhisaṃsmṛtvā* (XVI.41c N2 123v.4), *anusmṛtvā* (XVI.105d), and several instances of the simple *smṛtvā*. The decision to use *-ya* or *-tvā* settled into a pattern depending on the verb root in BHS, and this again appears to be a survival in the Nepalese material of a Middle Indo-Aryan feature.

1.5.4 Grammatical account

Newari both in its older and modern forms is described as an ergative or split-ergative language. This refers to the way in which the relationship between the verb and its agent is indicated. Newari, like Sanskrit and unlike English, relies on declension to indicate the function of nominal words in a sentence. However, where both Sanskrit and English assume that the subject of a sentence is also the agent of the main verb, except in marked passive constructions where the agent is clearly marked using an instrumental, in Newari the agent is only marked when the verb is transitive. There is no notion of a passive construction, although there are causative forms. Thus, where in the Sanskrit sentences '*mārjāraḥ pibati*' and '*mārjāro jalaṃ pibati*' the declension of the word for 'cat' does not change, in Newari it would. The first sentence would be *bhau twani*, the second *bhaunā̃ lā twani*. When there is a patient—here, water (New. *lā*)—the stem for 'cat', *bhau(n)*, takes a nasal to mark agency and hence the underlying *n* is expressed, yielding the form *bhaunā̃*. Because of this, where grammatical constructions with the verb are in any way unclear, there may be a tendency based on the mother tongue of the writers and scribes to mark the agent of transitive verbs in Sanskrit; the agent-marked form in Sanskrit is the instrumental.[43]

This difference in how verbs and agency function in Newari can also help us understand why passive participles will often be treated as active. The distinction simply does not occur in Newari; instead, the question is whether or not there is a patient.

A second feature of Newari will help to explain the occasional confusion of genitive and locative. A distinction is maintained between sentient and nonsentient nouns. For a sentient noun, the Newari locative implies immediate personal possession in a way that the genitive, which more loosely associates nominals, does not. To say, for example, "I have money," I can distinguish in Newari between *jike dheba du* and *jigu dheba du*; the former locative implies that I have it here (and can pay for my photocopies now); the latter genitive suggests that while I have money, I don't necessarily have it with me.

[43] For an account of the effects of Newari syntax on Sanskrit composed by Newar authors, see Kölver (1999) where he focusses entirely on one version of the SvP. The GKV does not show so widespread a transformation of Sanskrit syntax as the SvP version Kolver discusses.

Related to this, and familiar to students of Tibetan, is the role of the genitive particle (*-yā* in Newari; *kyi*, *gi*, *gyi*, *yi*, or *'i* in Tibetan) in building up noun phrases. Rarely in the Nepalese Sanskrit one finds a genitive ending being used where declensional agreement would be the ordinary way of indicating subordination to a head noun in Sanskrit.

However, such features as the construction of absolutives with *-tvā* and upasargas are not Newarisms, but simply features of a non-classical Sanskrit. Burnouf and Tucci both, commenting on the language of the GKV, compare it to the later Brahminical purāṇās; as I observed above, Nepalese Buddhist paṇḍits would have also read and copied BHS texts constantly.

1.6 Methodological questions

The purpose of this thesis is to ground the historical study of Nepalese Buddhism. We cannot know when in the first three hundred years of Buddhism it spread into the Kathmandu Valley, nor do we have enough evidence to write a proper account of Nepalese Buddhism as a type of Buddhism at any time before 750CE. As we shall see, even determining the distinct features of Nepalese Buddhism before about 1450CE is a difficult task, although certain elements can be proved. However after the fifteenth-century re-formulation it is possible to describe and discuss a Nepalese Buddhism with distinct features which can be compared to those of other forms of Buddhism.

This thesis is thus a 'historical-philological' study of a rather traditional sort. I have accounted for the rewriting of traditional Buddhist texts by looking at the competition for prestige and patronage between elite groupings. The historical characters in my story are mostly monastics or aristocrats. The argument among historians of Nepalese religion over the relative numbers or influence of Śaiva or Bauddha priests are not arguments which would have interested the vast majority of the inhabitants of Nepāl Maṇḍala in the 15th century, for whom regular rainfall and smallpox were far more pressing issues. At points I have been able to consider problems which touch on debates in the wider field of Buddhist studies or History of Religions, such as the complex identity of a Vajrayāna deity with a localized cult, or the tension between canonicity and innovation. In the main, however, this is a thesis which might have been written a century ago; indeed, vital information and artifacts which have been lost to the Newars since 1900 would have been a great help to me.

That does not make this work irrelevant, however. Those fields of Asian religious studies such as Ch'an/Zen history, Tibetan biographical studies or vernacular Indian religion which have in the past decades and centuries accumulated solid strata of fieldwork and archival studies, have now progressed to the point where theoretically engaged research is both possible and necessary. In the young field of Nepalese Buddhism, we're not there yet. There is of course no investigation free of method nor free of a theoretical bias; but it is also the case that there are methods, such as the historical-philological tools used here, that are useful for establishing an historical groundwork, and methods such as hermeneutical analysis which are better deployed when such facts as can be known have been sensibly outlined. Most scholars I speak with are as surprised as I was to discover that there is still a thriving Buddhism where Sanskrit is the canonical language, with paṇḍits perfectly able to edit and compose in Sanskrit.

Moreover, my work here is in some sense a defence of the value of traditional textual scholarship, not in opposition to more highly inflected methodologies, but as an invaluable partner. It is certainly possible to work exclusively from textual sources and so build cloud-castles which, while fascinating and even controversial, have very little to do with the dynamic cultural patterns which one might recognize as a religion. Here I have tried to use texts as historical evidence without severing them from their life as historical objects, subject to ritual use, decay, theft and royal patronage. It is a stubborn fact of the history of Nepalese Buddhism that in the mediæval period the Garland

texts are one of the few and precious sources of indigenous evidence, along with architecture, sculpture, paintings, inscriptions, account books and chronicles. Until Amṛtānanda, there are no other moments in which Newar Buddhist paṇḍits sat down to write what they thought their religion was. As with Amṛtānanda, the colossal act of composition which resulted in the Garland texts was not just descriptive, it was constitutive of Nepalese Buddhism from that point onwards.[44]

This leads towards a difficult question: what is Nepalese Buddhism? I have tried above to address the problem of labels, of Newar and Nepalese. However, I am sure that, just as today, most fifteenth-century inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley would have politely avoided questions which required them to identify themselves as Bauddhamārgī or Śivamārgī. In contemporary Pharping, we find that Vajrācāryas perform the śraddhā rituals for many families who otherwise employ Brahmans for their life-cycle rituals; and many members of traditionally Buddhist Mānandhār families are happy to worship at the nearby Dakṣiṇ-Kālī shrine, and for that reason are uncomfortable with the label 'Buddhist'. Nonetheless, all parties, Newar, Bahun-Chetri and Tamang alike, are happy to recognize the existence of Buddhism and refer questions about it to the Vajrācārya who lives up the hill at the Vajrayoginī shrine.[45] For the people of Pharping of whatever alignment or ascription, there is a Buddhism, indeed there is Vajrayāna Buddhism, and it is a tradition of teaching and rituals which is the special duty of the hereditary priests.

This is not the only definition of Buddhism active in the Valley right now, or even in Pharping—Western, East Asian and Tibetan modernizers in the Valley have a more complex notion of who controls Buddhism; many traditional Tibetans reject the legitimacy of Newar Buddhism altogether; and the Theravādin reformers in the Valley can be sharply critical of both Newar and Tibetan Vajrayāna. Individual Newars of all castes, but especially the priestly castes, negotiate between all these claims with remarkable sophistication, taking part in teaching and meditation sessions drawn from many sources, many of which would, if forced into contact, regard each other as less than legitimate. This eclecticism is, I believe, a distinguishing feature of 21st century Buddhism in urban zones worldwide; but it has very little to do with the 15th century. In that more parochial time, the understanding of Buddhism was closely tied to the belief in a living and potent tradition, the *śāsana* as guaranteed by tantric initiations, in a long chain of teachers who had been the students of other more ancient teachers. As we shall see, it is precisely this model of Buddhism which was used to

[44] The similarity of these two moments is not surprising. Local, 'small' features of a culture such as a specific cult or ritual tend to have a recognizable morphology and processes whereby they win and hold conviction, adherents and patronage, and transmit themselves from generation to generation; and these can be rigorously described. Yet as one attempts to study increasingly general features, such as all fasting rituals in mediæval Nepal or Nepalese Buddhism in the mediæval period, the complexity of the feature to be described rapidly transcends systematic description. Indeed, the work of a historian of religions only begins with identifying such patterns as are small enough to be coherently described; the real work is in carefully using those morphologies as evidence for a more general sort of historical enquiry, while strenuously resisting the urge to make inappropriate comparisons or useless generalizations. At moments of cultural crisis, however, one may encounter episodes of deliberate reformulation, often centred around charismatic individuals; and the creations of these crises, be they sagas or sculptures, are hugely valuable as evidence for the historian of religions. Rarely will they be complete, representative, or uncontested—in this case, we know that the use of Sanskrit alone removed the Garland texts from the vast majority of Nepalese, and the GKV certainly pursued an iconographic agenda which did not, in the end, stick—but such bundles of evidence are intended by their authors to grasp the whole of their religion at that moment in time.

[45] Or, if they are Tamang, to their Sherpa lama who lives in the next valley. The Newars at least do not yet take advantage of the numerous Tibetan monasteries which have sprouted around Pharping in the last twenty years, nor indeed do they list the Tibetans among the residents of Pharping.

argue for the legitimacy of both the GKV and Buddhism in Nepal.[46]

My project here is of necessity introductory, done in the hopes that many others will follow. Historians of religion usually alternate between detailed studies of one tradition or area and broader comparative essays. I have rather uncomfortably straddled the fence. While most of this thesis avoids comparison in the interests of establishing the Nepalese history on its own terms, in the second chapter I have attempted to answer a query which some Nepalese scholars have put to me: if there is a distinctive Nepalese Buddhism, what is distinctive about it when compared to other Buddhisms? There is a far longer book to be written on that subject, one which has the time to discuss the ordinary Newar's common-sense refusal to chop religious life into Bauddha, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava as well as the distinctive path-doctrine which emerges from a careful study of the GKV and the development of the sixty-four Tantric *pīṭha*s of Nepal.

This is also not a general history of Nepalese religion as it was experienced by mediæval members of the agricultural, artisan or mercantile castes, whose voices are almost entirely absent here. We simply do not yet have the materials for this sort of history. There are, however, materials for writing a detailed history of the life of a mediæval monastery and its patrons. Between guṭhi and monastery account books (*thyāsāphū*s), colophons and chronicles it should be possible to derive a remarkable amount of information. Carlo Ginzburg, among others, has shown what fine history can be wrought from such pedestrian data. If over time a database of colophons and account books can be compiled, with names and places, we may be able to reconstruct lineages, marriages and ritual patterns, and thus move towards a proper history of religions account of the particularities of mediæval Nepalese Buddhism. I look forward to writing such a book one day, or reading it; but until then this thesis will I hope be a usefully solid stone offered toward the construction of a grander edifice.

[46] Thus in the 15th century the distinction which Gombrich (1988: 25-7) makes between soteriological and communal religion is blurred or nonexistent at key points. The soteriological force of the *śāsana* is expressed and guaranteed by social structures enacted ritually— specifically by the lineages of tantric initiation and all the esoteric architecture, speech and ritual that surrounds them. In modern Nepal, however, the distinction is very much alive, although it may not operate in the way contending Buddhist sects would like. For example, the success of the Theravāda convents has much to do with the fact that they offer a cheaper and less unpleasant coming-of-age ritual for adolescent girls than the traditional Vajrayāna rite. By contrast, even among conservative Vajrācārya families there is a willingness to experiment with various meditation styles from Goenka to Rigpa, for everyone understands that meditation is an activity directed towards liberation. This does not appear to dilute their belief in the importance of tantric initiation, however, which as a religious structure works against Gombrich's distinction.

Chapter 2

Form, genre and dating

An accurate and complete view of the Bauddha system of belief would involve the severe study of a number of the voluminous Sanskrit works above specified, and would demand more time than could be bestowed upon the task by any person, not otherwise wholly unemployed.

Brian Hodgson, *Essays on the Langauge, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*

The *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* is the trunk which supports the argument of this thesis; it is the main source of evidence as well as the inspiration for all that follows. In this second chapter I am concerned with its formal features: genre, style, structure and dating. By firmly rooting an understanding of the GKV in this way, the subsequent study of its historical and cultural ramifications can always be referred back to solid evidence. The text has attracted a wealth of artifacts and practices: inscriptions, painted scrolls and endowed rituals will all be brought in as further evidence; but the task here is to arrive at a trustworthy formal description of the GKV as a book written in Nepāl Māṇḍala in the 15^{th} century, belonging to a distinctive genre of Nepalese Sanskrit Buddhist sūtras.

Any study of the GKV within its historical context will necessarily be comparative. The obscurity of Nepalese Sanskrit Buddhist literature, which cloaked the existence of the GKV, has also prevented any recognition of the most copious genre of NSB literature, the Garland texts. Fortunately recent work by several outstanding scholars on distinct texts has made it possible to synthesize their work and begin by locating the GKV in its genre. Defining the Garland genre will provide a context for looking at the specific features of the GKV, as well as providing key evidence in the as yet incomplete project of precisely dating the composition of the GKV.

2.1 Newar Sanskrit Buddhist literature

Among the vast quantity of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit preserved in Nepal are a significant number which were composed in Nepal. The assumption among historians of Indian Buddhism has often been that the Newars were essentially passive conduits, a sort of living museum that handily preserved key texts from a millenium before. Although scholars familiar with the indigenous Buddhism of the Kathmandu Valley have always maintained that there were some texts, most notably the *Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa*, which were Newar compositions, the extent to which the received Sanskrit Buddhist tradition has been adapted, forged or composed by Nepalese Vajrayāna masters has only been considered seriously in the past few years.

That there might be coherent genres within the corpus of Nepalese Buddhist Sanskrit texts is apparent from a survey of the relevant editions and manuscripts, but the mistaken belief that many of these texts were Indian has obstructed any clear discussion of genre. I hope to build on the work of Tatelman, Hahn and other scholars to define the most prominent of these genres, a set of massive compilations of didactic stories associated with the performance of lay vows called Garland (*mālā*) texts. It is necessary to establish some formal grounds whereby a text can be identified as belonging to this genre. Such a formal identification allows for further historical study: we will not need to know how old a text is, only to recognize certain characteristic features, in order to locate it definitively in mediæval Nepal. As it happens, these texts appear all to have been composed within a few decades of 1440CE. In subsequent chapters we will use this property to draw conclusions about the Buddhism of the high Malla period.

Preliminary list of works. From Burnouf onwards, scholars working on Nepalese texts have recognized a stylistic similarity particularly between the GKV and some of the *Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa* texts (SvP). J. Tatelman extended this to include the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* (BhKA) and the *Mahajjātakamālā* (MJM), which had already been identified as a Nepalese text by its editor, M. Hahn. H. Brinkhaus noted the importance of the unusual framing narrative in the SvP. A separate line of analysis, beginning with Feer (1879) and Speyer (1906-9), established a type of later metric *avadāna* collection. The most recent writer in this tradition, Okano (1998), has collected information on many of these texts but overlooked the GKV itself. In fact, these two separate problems refer to the same genre.

We are now in a position to move beyond style and the framing narrative: there are several characteristics of major texts in Nepalese Sanskrit Buddhist literature of the mediæval period which become apparent when all these works are considered together. In order to isolate and define the characteristic features of the genre, I will survey five of these texts: the GKV, the SvP (in its several versions), the MJM, the BhKA and the *Ratnamālāvadāna* (RAM). Such a synopsis will make clear the coherence of this genre within NSB literature.

NSB literature is not, however, limited to this genre. The earlier and later versions of the SvP, let alone Nepalese Buddhist ritual works or stotras, while they are obviously Nepalese compositions, are not members of the genre, although the development of the SvP provides us with crucial information for dating the emergence of this genre. Moreover there are several texts which I will not try to analyse here though they would, I think, emerge as proper members of the genre, such as the *Aśokāvadānamālā*, the *Dvāviṃśatyavadānamālā*, the *Citraviṃśatyavadānamālā*, the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā*, the *Vicitrakāvadānamālā*, the *Kapīśāvadāna*, the *Sarvajñāmitrāvadāna*, the *Saṃbhadrāvadānamālā* and the *Vratāvadānamālā*.[1]

One of the difficulties is the incoherence of the manuscript traditions. The *avadāna* section of the Tokyo catalogue (Matsunami 1965) is filled with tables attempting to assemble the constituent parts of many of these works, an effort which is unfortunately wasted in the absence of a union

[1] Speyer's initial list included the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā*, *Ratnāvadānamālā*, *Aśokāvadānamālā*, *Dvāviṃśatyavadānamālā* and the *Bhadrakalpāvadānamālā*.(Speyer 1906-9: p. xiii) The list is expanded in Okano, but I lack Japanese and have not read through this text. The associated website (http://member.nifty.ne.jp/okanokiyoshi/mediæval-avadana-index.html) is very useful. Studies of these texts are often parenthetical to other works; thus, Speyer (1906-9) contains a chapter of the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā* in the introduction. Michael Hahn and Ratna Handurukande have each discussed, and edited portions of, several of these texts; see the bibliography. Tatelman (1996) discusses the *Aśokāvadānamālā* in his thesis. I discuss the problem of the *Vratāvadānamālā* below. See, however, Handurukande's excellent edition of three texts on caitya worship (Handurukande 2000), the difference among which neatly expresses the distinction between NSB texts generally and the Garland literature, to which the AVC clearly belongs.

catalogue for all the NSB manuscripts.[2] While some of these texts have been edited in whole or in part, the nature of these editions points up the problems in the manuscript tradition from which they are drawn — and other texts float freely between various titles and recensions. The GKV and BhKA seem to be the most stable of these texts. Once the cluster of works all referred to as the SvP is broken down into its constituent texts, each of those, too, is coherent through time. By contrast the edition of the RAM is made up from two manuscript families which instantiate a shorter and a much longer version of the text. An even less stable text is the *Vratāvadānamālā* (VAM), which appears never to have been completed as a text; various works exist, all of which claim to be parts of the VAM but none of which contain the entire text, at least not in any manuscript I have encountered. Thus we find the *Kavikumārakathā*[3], the *Suvarṇavarṇāvadānamālā*[4], the *Sumagadhāvadāna* and the *Śṛṅgabheryavadāna*[5] all identifying themselves as parts of the single *Vratāvadānamālā*.[6]

For this reason, I have limited the texts being studied to the GKV and some of those texts which have been published, in whole or in part. Once the genre's features have been exposed, however, the remarkably frequent occurrence of key names or topics — Śrīghanaḥ, the *lakṣacaityavrata* — in manuscript catalogue descriptions will alert the reader to the ubiquity of these texts in any collection of Nepalese manuscripts. In what follows, I put forward a list of characteristic features and discuss them in more detail. This forms the basis of a polythetic definition of this genre. Very few of these works have all the key characteristics, but there is a stable set of shared features. Such a definition is necessarily recursive; as more works are edited and described, the less significant criteria here can be abandoned, other criteria will be noted and more useful descriptions of what are for now provisional attempts to isolate significant features will I hope follow in good time. Other genres should also emerge, for example the NSB *stotras*, of which there are numerous examples.

What is this genre, anyway? What name should one give this coherent body of texts? It is a genre of NSB literature, but it does not by any means include all NSB literature; there are collections of stotras[7] and caryās, ritual texts such as the *Aṣṭamīvrata* handbooks, iconographic handbooks and sādhanas all of which appear to be NSB texts - that is, composed in Nepal, in Sanskrit, after 1200CE. Within the restricted category of NSB *avadāna* literature, there are texts rather like our genre, collections of stories or *avadāna*s, which just precede the development of the genre; the earlier versions of the SvP are an example. There are also texts composed afterwards, in Newari, which although they are direct descendants of these texts cannot be grouped with them; these are the *vratakathā* texts.[8] Moreover, the genre is slightly broader than simply *avadāna* collections, for neither the GKV nor the SvP could be categorized as such. It is tempting to refer to this material as classical Nepalese Buddhist Sanskrit, for in T.S. Eliot's terms (1944) it does reflect and engender a sense of national identity and history; but the Sanskrit itself is hopelessly insufficient to the label, although it may well be the case that this genre is an impetus toward the development of classical Newari. That the Buddhist literature should, in its next phase, shift completely into the vernacular Newari

[2] The NSB material resides in manuscript collections worldwide. The dispersal of the manuscripts which Hodgson exported gives some idea of the problem. Thousands of Nepalese manuscripts or microfilms are also in Germany, Japan and, to a lesser extent, India and New York. Even a theoretically total project such as the admirable, if imperfect, catalogue of the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project has to be co-ordinated with the less known microfilm collection at the Buddhist Library of Japan, which has been able to film texts held back from the NGMPP. Add to this the rapid efflux of manuscripts from Nepal, many of which were never microfilmed, for the profit of art auctioneers, and some sense of the number of manuscripts and the difficulty of arriving at a union catalogue emerges. [3] SBLN 816C, Tokyo 82-3 etc. [4] SBLN A18, CUL add. 1341, Tokyo 380-1 [5] SBLN B29, Tokyo 257-II [6] See on this Speyer (1906-9: p. xxiii), who similarly suspects that the AśAM and the RAM were part of a larger project to compose a complete set of decadic extracts of the *Avadānaśatakam*. [7] E.g., the *Karuṇāstava* and *Rūpastava* [8] See the introduction to Lienhard and Manandhar (1988) for a discussion of the coherence of this term.

is as much a reflection of the decadence of the Sanskrit tradition as it is an expression of the vitality of Newari. So many of these texts go by the name of *-avadānamālā* that this, I think, must be the best label for the genre. This is also the name which Speyer and Okano chose, but apparently for a different and I believe incomplete grouping of texts — basically, only those texts which have *-avadānamālā* in the name, with no reflection on their historical or ritual setting. By the application of historical research it is, however, possible to situate this genre precisely, and to show that the GKV is one of its most important members. For simplicity and to avoid confusion with the dynastic name Malla, I will translate the term and refer to this genre as Garland texts. This will further help to distinguish them from, on the one hand, the Jātakamālās which M. Hahn has studied for some years, postcanonical but definitely Indian metrical texts,[9] and the *Avadānakalpalatā* on the other, a Kaśmīrian text composed before the collapse of Indian Buddhism in 1200CE.

The problem with this label is that it obscures a significant division within these texts. It is possible to divide the Garland literature into those texts which are just collections of *avadāna*s, reworked for the purpose of supporting lay vows, and those which are *māhātmyas*, magnifications[10] of a particular figure. All the versions of the SvP and the GKV are distinctly *māhātmyas*, the former based on the cult of Vagīśvarakīrti Mañjuśrī at Svayaṃbhū Mahācaitya, and the latter based on the cult of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara at Būgamati. The genre classification of *māhātmya* is useful for talking about Sanskrit devotional literature generally, but the specific coherence of the Garland literature yields a richer descriptive and classificatory scheme for this period.

We can at last enumerate the features of the Garland literature:

Framing narrative There is usually a framing narrative naming Jayaśrī and Jinaśrī and their precursors, Aśoka and Upagupta.

Verse recension They are often composed as a verse recension of earlier Indian texts, usually *avadāna* material.

Importance of *vratas* The merit derived from one of three important vows is reiterated: the Poṣadha *vrata*, the Vasundharā *vrata*, or the Lakṣacaitya *vrata*.

Meditation on the triratna A chapter near the beginning on devotion to the three jewels (*triratnabhājana*)

Stereotypical lists Typical NSB descriptions of the social order.

Description of the path Repeated descriptions of the path, again in a stereotyped form.

Shared style This will become clear when a few examples are considered.

Śrīghanaḥ The term *śrīghanaḥ* occurs as an epithet for Śākyamuni Buddha and the Ādibuddha.

NSB linguistic features E.g., the non-classical augmented optative verb form as described in the introduction.

2.1.1 The framing narrative

The importance of the framing narrative was first pointed out by Brinkhaus (1993), who noted its emergence in the later forms of the SvP. Perhaps the most explicit form of the double frame is found in the GKV at I.14–33.

[9] See also Speyer (1906-9: pp.x-xi) on postcanonical, metrical *avadāna* texts now lost.

[10] I can think of no better English translation of the Sanskrit term; it refers usefully to the choral genre *magnificat*.

First we encounter Jinaśrī, the Nepalese king, and his *rājaguru* Jayaśrī. It is somewhat odd that the religious professional should be called Jayaśrī and the political professional Jinaśrī, but the names are consistent wherever they occur. In the MJM Jinaśrī becomes Jinamuni; and in the *Dvādaśatīrthamāhatmyām*[11]he is called Jineśvari. The king expresses a desire to be taught about some topic, and Jayaśrī agrees to teach him just as he was taught by his guru, Upagupta, saying "Just as I was taught by my guru, the yogi Upagupta, fit to be a Victor, so I will teach (now) for the sake of all beings."(I.20) The scene then shifts to the Kukuṭṭara Vihāra, where Aśoka has come to be taught by Upagupta on the very same topic (here, the triple jewel); and in response to Aśoka's request, Upagupta uses almost the same language: "Just as my guru taught, so will I teach you." Upagupta's teacher, it turns out, is none other than Śākyamuni Buddha himself. This redefines the sense of guru, as the traditions surrounding Upagupta make it clear that he never did study with Śākyamuni himself.[12] Just as the historical gap between Upagupta and Śākyamuni forms no barrier to their being teacher and student, so the rather longer gap between Upagupta and Jayaśrī - whose identity or dates we do not as yet know - does not thwart lineal continuity.

The key feature here is the doubled frame. Many later collections of avadāna stories have a framing narrative with Aśoka and Upagupta, and this would appear to have been the source for the doubled framing narrative. In some cases, as in the RAM, we have only an attenuated version of the doubled frame. There is no mention of Jinaśrī or Jayaśrī at the beginning of the text, nor have I found one in the transitional narratives between chapters, although the Aśoka-Upagupta frame occurs at every juncture. However the closing passages do mention 'Jayaśrī munirājakalpaḥ' (Takahata 1954: p.480).

This double frame is a feature of all our selected texts: the GKV, BhKA, MJM and some versions of the SvP, as Brinkhaus (1993) notes. According to his proposed stemma and discussion, the framing narrative occurs only in versions II.B, III.A and B and IV of the SvP. As I just noted, an attenuated form occurs in the RAM. The MJM does not mention Jinaśrī but rather Jinamuni (e.g. MJM I.19), who is merely the spokesman for the assembled audience and not specifically identified as a Nepalese Raja. The full form of the framing narrative is, however, found in the AśAM,[13] VAM (in some versions) and the *Śṛṅgabherīkathā*.

2.1.2 Verse recensions

All five of our chosen texts are verse works, largely in *anuṣṭubh* with occasional passages or closing verses in more ornate metres. As Speyer (1906-9: p. xii) noted,

> Further there exist other metrical avadānamālās of a much simpler style and less high aspirations. They are almost entirely composed in the common anuṣṭubh çloka which very sparingly varies with other metres.

The GKV is probably the least adventurous in this respect; aside from a section in the first chapter in *triṣṭubh*, it only escapes the *anuṣṭubh* in citations. The MJM, on the other hand, reliably provides an ornate verse or two at the end of each chapter. Within the SvP corpus, versions II.A/B, III.A and IV (partly) are in metre.

Moreover they are all recensions or compilations of revered Indian prose works, with the exception of the SvP. The GKV is a recension of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*; the BhKA is a recension and expansion

[11] I know the *Dvādaśatīrthamāhatmyām* only from 3 catalogue entries in the *Bṛhatsucipatra* (vol. 1 of the Buddhist section, pp. 219-221). [12] Upagupta is the subject of many recent studies, including Strong (1992). [13] See the discussion in Tatelman (1996) and Bendall (1883), under entry 1482. In general, while some of the stylistic or linguistic criteria cannot be discovered or verified from a catalogue entry, several of the features discussed here will be noted in a good manuscript catalogue.

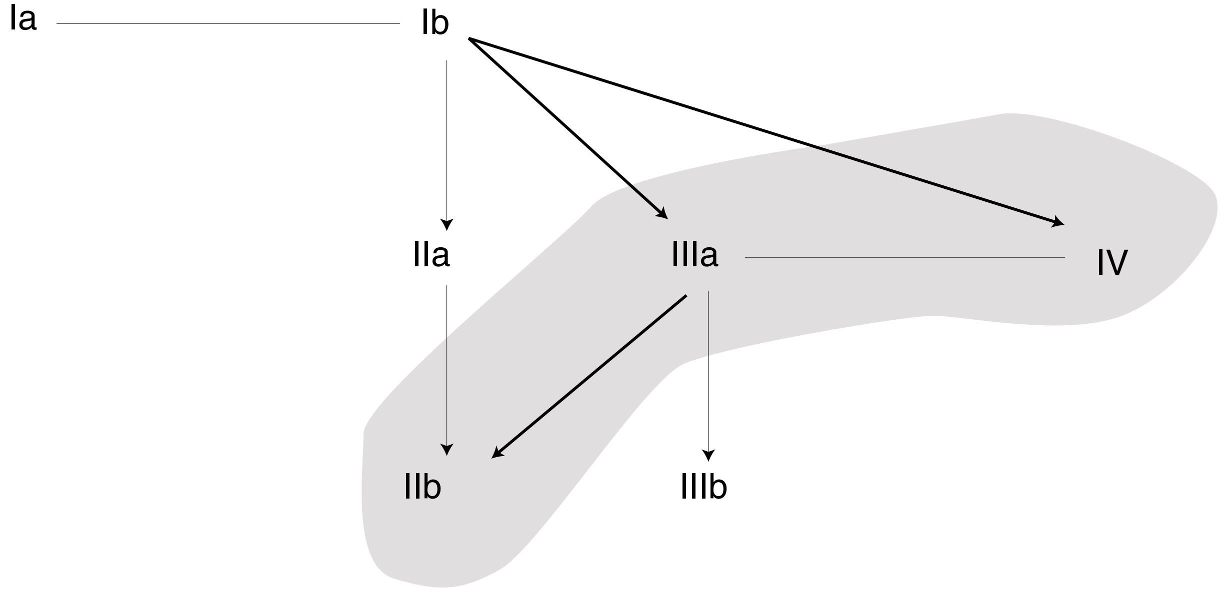


Figure 2.1: Dependency of the versions of the SvP, with Garland texts in grey. (Adapted from Brinkhaus (1993).)

of the *Lalitavistara*; the MJM is based on both the *Jātakamālā* and the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka*; and the RAM is comprised of verse recensions of various tales from the *Avadānaśataka*.

The exception in this case is the SvP, and it is only problematic if we consider it as a single text. The virtue of Brinkhaus' analysis of the SvP into constituent versions is that it becomes possible to draw a line around those later versions which do have the characteristics of the Garland texts. On this basis, the fact that versions II.B and III.A are verse texts (and IV partly so) allows us to consider the later Sanskrit versions of the SvP as verse recensions of the earlier.

In fact, the various versions of the SvP show a graduated development towards the Garland characteristics: the addition of the framing narrative, the use of verse, the development of the characteristic style. The genre may be said to acquire its coherence with versions III.A and II.B, which share the framing narrative. Just as with the successors to the Garland genre, the final form of the SvP, realized in III.B, is a shift to the vernacular Newari. The remarkably clear process of development perceivable in the versions of the SvP will become more important when we turn to the problem of dating these texts.

2.1.3 Emphasis on *vrata*s

A recurring feature of these texts is that they prescribe the performance of certain lay vows.[14] The first chapter of the GKV contains a long excursus on the importance of the Poṣadha *vrata*. The SvP contains a chapter on the twelve *tīrtha*s of Nepal, which feature in the longer version of the Poṣadha

[14] For a discussion of *vrata*s and their place in the GKV, see chapter 4, where further references will be found. Briefly, the Poṣadha *vrata* is a short fast dedicated to Karuṇāmaya, the Lakṣacaitya is the vow of offering 100,000 small caityas, and the Vasundharā *vrata* is a fast dedicated to the goddess of prosperity.

vrata and other vows, although it does not appear to recommend the Lakṣacaitya vow.[15] Unlike the GKV, RAM and BhKA the SvP does not actually recommend the performance of any vows directly, but they are a frequent topic. Only the MJM is not centrally concerned with these lay vows; it too recommends at least the Lakṣacaitya, but in a text of this size the lack of emphasis placed on lay vows runs counter to the other Garland texts. The Vasundharā *vrata* is only recommended in one of our five works, in the last chapter of the RAM. It prescribes the Poṣadha in chapters IV and XI. The BhKA similarly recommends different *vrata*s in different sections.When we look at the other Garland texts this eclectic tendency is supported, and it is clear that there are only three such *vrata*s of the many available for performance by modern Newar Buddhists[16] that are important to these texts: the Poṣadha *vrata*, the Vasundharā *vrata* and the Lakṣacaitya *vrata*.[17] A sketch of the relations between *vrata*s and the texts which recommend them is given in 2.2 on the following page. It would appear that the hypothetical VAM was to consist of three collections of *avadāna*s each recommending one of these three *vrata*s; the extant manuscripts are all of one or another of the component sections of the work, each recommending some one of the *vrata*s. It may simply have been a generic name (like *vratakathā*) for any collection of avadānas that recommend a vow, although the use of the term as a name in colophons would suggest otherwise.

	Poṣadha	Lakṣacaitya	Vasundharā
GKV	•		
SvP	◦	◦	
BhKA	•	•	?
MJM		•	
RAM	•		•
VAM	•	•	•
SJM		•	

Figure 2.2: *Vrata*s recommended by various Garland texts. •: mentioned. ◦: not directly mentioned.

2.1.4 Meditation on the *triratna*

The GKV, MJM and BhKA all open with extended sections praising the Three Jewels (*ratna-trayam*): the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The Newars have, and appear from this evidence to have had for some time, a specific understanding of the three jewels as personified in the Ādibuddha, Prajñāpāramitā and Avalokiteśvara. These three figures recur constantly in iconography throughout Nepāl Maṇḍala, and this trinity is the subject of the first two full chapters of the MJM and half the first chapter of the GKV. I will return in chapter 4 to explore the possibility that this represents a distinctively Newar practice; for now my purpose is only to note its ubiquity in the Garland texts. The language used in the GKV leaves no doubt that there is a deliberate mapping of the 'mundane'

[15] It is curious that the SvP does not appear to support the practice of the Lakṣacaitya ritual, which is well attested in other sources. The second chapter in at least versions 1a and IIb contains a list of meritorious actions and their rewards, but, while there are a number of rituals involving worship of the mahācaitya with various substances or actions, nowhere have I been able to find mention of offering small caityas. This suggests that the Lakṣacaitya ritual is not part of the original cult surrounding Svayaṃbhū itself. As it is mentioned in other Garland texts, it must have been an established practice in the 15th century. [16] On this, see Gellner (1992), as well as Lewis (1989) and Locke (1987) for specific *vrata*s. [17] All three of these are listed in Amṛtānanda's summary of the periodic duties of a Vajrācārya, the first two monthly and the last annually. That document, however, is intended for the professional religious, whereas the Garland texts have as their ostensible audience royal and middle-class supporters of the clerical class. See Brough (1947-1948b), edited from Hodgson 29.8 48-51. On the problem of the audience of the Garland texts, see 3.3.8 on page 89.

understanding of the Three Jewels onto the divinized trinity. Thus at I.34–7 the Buddha Jewel is said to be born from a portion of the five Buddhas,[18] to have the form of Samantabhadra, and so on; but at I.38–40, it is recast as all those individuals who have undertaken the Bodhisattva path and won through to the state of complete Buddhahood. The former is, or refers to, a visualization; the latter is the more usual Mahāyāna understanding of the Buddhas.

This needs to be contrasted with a generalized devotion to the Three Jewels which pervades all these texts. The phrase *ratnatrayaṃ bhajanaṃ kṛtvā*, for example, is extremely common in descriptions of the path. In some places, the precise nature of the exercise undertaken is a little unclear; thus in RAM XXXI we find a long passage in which the practitioner (in this case, a *preta*) progresses through various stages along the path beginning with taking the three refuges, and at each stage returns to reflect on the Three Jewels in various modes: with devotion, as a recollection and so on. This continues for about 20 verses, including the cultivation of all the Perfections, the *brahmavihāra*s and so on.

Among the other Garland texts, the seventh chapter of AśAM is a *ratnatrayastuti*.

2.1.5 Stereotypical lists

These lists recur endlessly and were clearly a stock item circulating in Nepal at the time of the composition of the Garland texts. There are two which stand out most clearly: descriptions of the social order and descriptions of the orders of sentient beings, usually in attendance on a teaching of the Dharma. Both have their roots in similar lists to be found throughout the Indian *avadāna*s. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate the consistency of these lists between the various works. At GKV I.9-1, first the professional religious are listed: *bhikṣuṇyaś cailakāś caivam upāsakā upāsikāḥ vratino 'pi mahāsattvāḥ*; then the social order is traversed: *brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyāś cāpi rājāno mantriṇo janāḥ amātyāḥ śreṣṭhinaḥ paurāḥ sārthavāhā mahājanāḥ*; the urban-rural order is outlined: *jānapadā grāmyāḥ pārvatikāś ca naigamāḥ*; and finally the question of origins: *tathānyadeśikā lokāḥ*.

Translation: [There were] nuns and monks[19] too, lay Buddhists of both sexes, vow-holders and great men who lived in devotion to the fully enlightened Buddhas; priests, knights and kings, ministers, courtiers, bankers, city dwellers, caravaneers and farmers too; citizens from the countryside, the hills, and the villages, and even people from other countries [looking for the qualities of the true Dharma.]

This can be compared to MJM I.9-15, a more extended formulation:

[18] Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amoghasiddhi, Amitabhā and Ratnasaṃbhava. In N2 a somewhat unclear marginal verse describes which part of each of the Buddhas the Buddha jewel springs from; it begins *vairocanaśirobhutaṃ vāmamukhe amitābhaṃ* (N2 2v). [19] *cailaka*: in modern usage, a monk whose ordination is performed at a caitya. In other similar lists, *cailaka* and *bhikṣu* are found together, suggesting that they were not considered synonymous.

bhikṣuṇyo 'pi tathā sarvā arhantyo bhadracārikāḥ
tathā copāsikāḥ sarvās triratnabhājanodyatāḥ 9
cailakā vratinaś cāpi saṃbuddhaśaraṇasthitāḥ
upāsakāś ca sarve 'pi saddharmaśravaṇotsukāḥ 10
bodhisattvāś ca saddharmasādhakā bhadrakāriṇaḥ
mahāsattvā jagallokahitārthasādhanodyatāḥ 11
tathānye 'pi mahābhijñā ṛṣayo brahmacāriṇaḥ
nirgranthās tīrthakāś cāpi saddharmaguṇavañchinaḥ 12
yatayo yoginaś cāpi vīrā dhīrās tapasvinaḥ
tathā ca brāhmaṇā vijñās triratnaguṇavedinaḥ 13
rājānaḥ kṣatriyāś cāpi vaiśyāś ca mantriṇo janāḥ
gṛhasthāḥ śreṣṭhino 'mātyāḥ sajjanāś ca mahājanāḥ 14
vaṇijaḥ sārthavāhaś ca śilpinaś cāpi paurikāḥ
grāmyā jānapadāś cāpi tathānyaddeśavāsinaḥ[a] *15*

[a] anyadeśa– *is more usual in NSB texts; the printed edition preserves the -dd-.*

[There were] nuns, all virtuous arhats, and laywomen, all devoted to the Triple Jewel, and monks and vow holders, whose refuge was the fully enlightened, and laymen, who all listened earnestly to the true Dharma; Bodhisattvas who realized the true Dharma and acted well; great men committed to meditations intended for the benefit of all the world. Furthermore, [there were] others, celibate ṛṣis with psychic powers, Jains and sectarians too, craving the qualites of the true Dharma. [There were] heroic yogis, firm disciplined ascetics; wise brahmins who knew the qualities of the three jewels;[a]; kings, knights, guildsmen, ministers, householders, merchants, courtiers, gentlemen, farmers, traders, caravaneers and craftsmen. [There were] city people, villagers and rural dwellers and even people who came from other countries.

[a] There's a pun here. *triratnaguṇavedinaḥ brāhamaṇāḥ* are also 'Brahmins whose Vedas (derive) from the qualities of the Triple Jewel'.

The MJM list includes other religions (12) and adds new *jāti*s to the description of the social order, while the GKV account has a lengthier list of villages, towns and such. These lists recur with minor variations throughout the texts, and the differences here are resolved elsewhere. Thus the GKV at XVI.140 (N2 128r6) has

brahmaṇā vaiṣṇavā śaivā yogino brahmacāriṇaḥ
nirgranthās tīrthikāś cāpi yatayaś ca tapasvinaḥ

Brahmins, Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas, yogis, celibates and Jains; Hindus, the self-disciplined and ascetics.

The terminology, style and internal order within the lists are all remarkably consistent. Though interesting, lack of space requires that we postpone a consideration of their content to a later study.

2.1.6 Descriptions of the path

As with the descriptions of the social and natural order, so too there is a specific and frequently recurring description of progress on the path to enlightenment. This often takes the form of the phrase *iti matvā* occurring after a teaching passage, followed by a description of how a person should engage on the path and their subsequent progress in more or less detail, beginning with a guarantee of freedom from bad rebirths and concluding with the attainment of enlightenment. Again from the GKV we can take XIII.48-51 (N2 86v.2) as representative, bearing in mind that the GKV is an Avalokiteśvara devotional text and thus places considerable emphasis on rebirth in the Pure Land.

ye cāsya śraddhayā nityaṃ smṛtvā dhyātvā samāhitāḥ
nāmāpi ca samuccārya bhajanti śaraṇāśritāḥ
durgatiṃ tena na gacchanti kadā cid api kutra cit
sadā sadgatisaṃjātā bhavanti śrīguṇāśrayāḥ
kṛtvā bhadrāṇi sattvānāṃ bhuktvā saukhyāni sarvadā
bodhicaryāvrataṃ dhṛtvā prānte yānti sukhāvatīṃ
atrāmitaruceḥ śāstuḥ pītvā dharmāmṛtaṃ sadā
trividhāṃ bodhim āsādya nivṛtipadam āpnuyuḥ

Those with faith in him (Avalokiteśvara), constantly recollect (him), concentratedly meditate upon him, chant his name, take refuge in him and are devoted to him: because of that, they will not have a bad rebirth, anywhere, ever! They will always arise in good rebirths, with wealth and good qualities. As they have done good deeds on behalf of sentient beings, they will always experience delightful things, and maintaining the Bodhisattva vow, they will eventually arrive in Sukhāvati. Endlessly quaffing the Dharma nectar of the teacher Amitābha, they will attain threefold awareness and arrive at the stage of Nirvāṇa.

Shorter chunks, referring to the path in similar terms, occur throughout this literature.

2.1.7 Dialogue style

Here we find the simplest repetition of phrasal units between the various texts. So for example the pada *tam ālokyaivam abravīt*, occurs frequently to introduce dialogue; the variation *samālokyaivam ādiśat* occurs three times in the first chapter. In the flow of *śloka* metre, this fits the even *padas*. Similarly, the epithet *jinātmajaḥ* occurs at the end of even *padas* describing Avalokiteśvara or other great Bodhisattvas, where the odd *padas* will often have *bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ*. At this level, the similarity of the Garland texts is most apparent; they share many of these repeated *padas* and the limited vocabulary used to build them. We can see this clearly by comparing several examples. Here are the closing verses (23cd-4ab) from chapter XII of the GKV (N2 84r.4).

ity ādiṣṭaṃ munīndreṇa viśvabhuvā niśamya te
sarve sabhāśritā lokāḥ prābhyanandan prabodhitāḥ

So having listened to the teaching of Viśvabhū, lord of sages, all those people gathered in assembly were delighted and enlightened.

The MJM, in chapters I and II: (I.182, II.214 are identical)

iti tenārhatādiṣṭaṃ śrutvāśokaḥ sa bhūpatiḥ
tathety abhyanubhāṣitvā prābhyanandat sapārṣadaḥ

The Emperor Aśoka heard the arhat's teaching. Assenting with a 'Yes', he and all the assembly were delighted.

Here is the closing verse of the first chapter of SvP(IIb):

ity ādiṣṭaṃ munīndreṇa śrīghanena niśamya te
maitreyādisabhālokāḥ sarve 'pi saṃpramoditāḥ[a]

[a] ed. *saṃpramodite*

So having listened to that which Śrīghano, lord of sages, had taught, all those people in the assembly of Maitreya and the rest were filled with joy.

These are not isolated examples, as will be readily apparent from the edited chapters; the inventory of stock phrases used to hold together the dialogues that make up much of these texts varies little

from one text to the next.

2.1.8 The epithet Śrīghanaḥ

One of the commonest names for the Buddha in Garland literature is *Śrīghanaḥ*, 'Cloud of glory'. I translate *ghanaḥ* as 'cloud' in accord with most lexica and by analogy with the *dharmameghaḥ*; it could conceivably mean 'mallet' or 'cymbal'; but in a commentary on the term it is the dense indivisibility which is emphasized. There's no easy equivalent in English, though the 'deep, but dazzling darkness' of Henry Vaughan in 'The Night' [1655] (1976: 289) comes to mind, or perhaps the potent density of stellar bodies such as black holes. The cloud as a symbol of providence and divine order is rare in Western mystical literature;[20] it is crucial in Nepal, where much of the mythology surrounding Bũgadyaḥ is to do with his role as a rainmaker and controller of the nāgas. Clouds in Sanskrit literature have a very different role from that in English. The blacker and denser they are, the more they promise relief from the drought and the searing heat which precede the monsoon. Thus the use of a term meaning 'dense' or 'massive' to mean a cloud points out its irresistably providential and protective aspect: it refers to a cloud which cannot be pierced or evaporated by the tormenting sun, which will certainly wash away the unbearable heat and which will fertilize the desperate earth. *Śrī*, glory, is a term with connotations of royalty—the goddess Śrī is said to join herself to a potent monarch—and good fortune. It is also a term with a long history in Vajrayāna names, as we shall see.

It occurs numerous times in the GKV, BhKA, RAM, MJM and versions IIb, IIIa and IV of the SvP, and in Newar literature generally after the Garland texts, such as devotional songs in Newari of the later period.[21] This name for a Buddha has a good early Indian pedigree and disappears in the later material. It is barely known in the *avadāna* or sūtra literature upon which the Garland texts are based, and its use in the Garland texts would appear rather to stem from Pāla period Newar Vajrayāna usage as found at Nālandā.[22] While it is difficult to determine its further genealogy, in the absence of other sources it is possible that the term gained currency in Newar Vajrayāna lineages from its occurrence in the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*.

Śrīghanaḥ in the older Indian sources. The word is known both to the *Amarakośa* (v.14)[23] and Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (v. 234).[24] In both cases it occurs in lists of synonyms for the term *Buddhaḥ*, along with other well-known terms such as *tathāgataḥ*, *sugataḥ* and *ṣaḍabhijñaḥ*.

Although it was a well-known epithet I have only found the term attested twice in earlier Buddhist sources, both Mahāsaṃghika. First, it appears in the *Mahāvastu*, in a verse pronounced by Śāriputra upon his enlightenment:

---

[20] Vaughan's understanding of dark clouds arises from the *via negativa* tradition of Platonist mysticism, and is in this poem a deft ironic inversion of the Cloud of Unknowing. [21] See, for example, song 7 in Lienhard (1974). I might also note a single manuscript titled *Śrīghanaprakāśitagayāpāda* listed in the National Archives (*Bṛhatsucipatra*, Vol.VII.3, p. 74) and a text called the *Śrīghana Saundarāṣṭaka* found in the IASWR, MBB-II-80. Finally, there is a version of the *Vasantatilakā* by an author named Śrīghana. Although the original *Vasantatilakā* is credited to the Indian mahāsiddha Kaṇhā, the later text on brief inspection would appear also to be a Nepalese composition, as it seems to mention Svayaṃbhū: *svayambhūrūpa kiṃ bindurūpadharmakāyaḥ prakīrtitaḥ* Rimpoche and Dvivedi (1990: 141). [22] This is one example of the continuity between Nepalese Vajrayāna of the Pāla period and its fifteenth-century reformulation, a question to which we return in chapter four. [23] Amarasimha (1995) [24] Böhtlingk and Rieu (1847)

yo so śrūyati śāstre puṣpam iva udumbaraṃ vane buddhā utpadyanti ***śirighanā*** *utpanno lokapradyoto* Senart (1892-7: vol. III, p. 62.4)	A lamp for the world has been born, one who is described in the teaching as like the Udumbara flower in the forest: [they are] Buddhas born as clouds of glory.[a] [a] Compare the translation in Jones (1949: vol. III, p.63).

Second, it occurs in a Mahāsaṃghika manual for novice monks of perhaps the 3rd century called the *Śrīghanācāra*, now lost, but partly preserved in a later commentary by Jayarakṣita.[25] Sanghasena, in his introduction to an edition of the commentary, discusses the use of the term.

> The word 'śrīghana' is used in the text in hand, i.e. the *Sphuṭārthā Śrīghanācārya-saṃgrahaḥ-ṭīkā* in place of 'śrāmaṇera' or Buddhist novice (once even as a synonym of 'bhikṣu', i.e. a full-fledged monk).

Derrett, in his careful translation of the commentary, makes it clear that the term can be used to refer to novices, Bodhisattvas and Buddhas alike, as well as being the author's pen-name (Derrett and Jayarakṣita 1983: p.11).

By the time of the composition of the explicitly Mahāyāna ṭīkā, which Derrett places in the 6th century, the choice of pen-names might have been somewhat confusing, perhaps leading Jayarakṣita to believe that "a Buddha called Śrīghana wrote the verses."(Derrett and Jayarakṣita 1983: n.3 p.14) This understanding would be in line with the lexica, the use of the term in the *Mahāvastu*, and the sense of the term in the Newar materials, although contrary to the use of the term in the root text. However, this text is totally unknown in Nepalese archives; the edition was prepared from a single damaged Tibetan manuscript,[26] and it is unlikely that this text contributed to the formation of Newar Buddhist literature.

An inscription from Nalandā

There is one isolated occurrence of the term which deserves mention. In the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra[27] the opening verse includes the phrase *śrighanaśāsanāmṛtaiḥ saṃsicya*. The inscription itself is extremely interesting, as it descibes a specific lineage of teachers within Pāla Vajrayāna all with the name element *-śrīmitra* and associates them with a series of sites. Two of these, Nālandā and Somapura, are known monastic universities; but two others, Coyāṇḍaka and Harṣapura, are unknown settlements. The author of the inscription, Kanakaśrī, is known from other sources and according to Lo Bue (1997: p.652) was a Newar[28] active at Vikramaśīla.

This may be the only remaining instance of what was an unexceptional epithet in inscriptions. I am inclined, however, to see this as early evidence of the Nepalese usage pattern. The usage of the term is consistent with the way in which it is used in the Garland literature, referring to the Dharmakāya or Ādibuddha. Finally, the dating of the inscription, while considerably earlier than the fifteenth-century origin of the Garland texts, locates it within the later East Indian and Himalayan milieu which provided a foundation for the Nepalese renaissance some three centuries

[25] The *Sphuṭārthā Śrīghanācārasaṃgrahaṭīkā*, with a partial reconstruction of the root text, in Sanghasena (1983); my thanks to Naresh Man Vajrācārya for pointing out this reference. See the comments in Derrett and Jayarakṣita (1983). [26] The text is among those photographed by Sāṅkṛtyāyana. See the list in Sāṅkṛtyāyana and Much (1988). [27] This is dated by Majumdar (1907) to the mid-12th century, but as Kanakaśrī was summoned to Vikramaśīla in the mid-11th century the inscription must date from rather earlier. [28] Tibetan historians tended to label any long-term resident in the valley a Newar (*bal yul mi*), especially if they had mastered Newari; but there are real problems in assuming that any person so named by the Tibetans was therefore fully inside all Newar social groupings. In this case, however, Kanakaśrī is labelled as a Newar because of his origins.

later. Although hard evidence for this period is rather limited, it is tempting to speculate that there was a school or lineage whose members were marked by the name-element /śrīmitra/ or perhaps just /śrī/, and that the term Śrīghanaḥ was used within that group and became a feature of Nepalese Buddhism.

The Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti. The term *ghanaḥ* appears on its own in the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*. Although the appearance of *śrīghanaḥ* in the GKV does not necessarily reflect a direct influence from that text, it is an unusual epithet in the later Indian Sanskrit texts,[29] and does not occur in any other Avalokiteśvara texts that I know of.

In the MNS the term *ghanaḥ* is found at 6.20:[30]

ghanaikasāro vajrātmā sadyojāto jagatpatiḥ gaganodbhavaḥ svayaṃbhūḥ prajñājñānānalo mahān	Massive unique essence, adamantine new-born lord of the world; skyborn, self born, great fire of the awareness of wisdom!

The term *ghanaḥ* is glossed by Raviśrījñāna as *niviḍatvāt*, 'because of impenetrability' or 'density', with no explicit reference to the epithet *śrīghanaḥ*, either in the lexica or in primary sources. Nonetheless it is reasonable to expect that Raviśrījñāna or any other commentator in Sanskrit on the MNS would know at least the Amarakośa's list of epithets for the Buddha.

Śrīghanaḥ in the Garland literature

The use of this term in the GKV is inseparable from its appearance in other Newar Buddhist Sanskrit texts. Aside from its preservation in lexica — and it is interesting to note that the term does not occur in either the *Mahāvyupatti* or the *Dharmasārasaṅgrahaḥ*, the two specifically Buddhist lexica which later Newar authors knew — this isolated instance of *ghanaḥ* in a text which is otherwise extremely important in the Newar Vajrayāna tradition may well have been the source for its use in the GKV and its spread through mediæval Newar Buddhist literature generally. In the 15th century and after, the term appears to be used as a name specifically for Śākyamuni understood as the Ādibuddha.[31] Its older use, as a generic epithet for any Buddha, recurs occasionally as in RAM XXVII (ed. p. 315.15) where it is one of a long list of epithets applied to Śākyamuni. More usually, it is the name for the interlocutor Buddha who stands in the frame of the stories being retold, the most immediate and powerful Buddha, distinct from Śikhin and the other 'historical' Buddhas. While this Buddha is Śākyamuni, that name is not so often used; and the same term Śrīghana is used to praise or supplicate the Ādibuddha. As examples, we can look at its use in the GKV and SvP. The first verse of the GKV reads:

yaḥ śrīghano buddhaḥ sarvalokādhipo jinaḥ te nāthaṃ śaraṇaṃ gatvā vakṣye lokeśasatkathām	As I go for refuge to you, the Cloud of Glory, the Buddha, master of all the worlds, Victor and lord, I will tell the true story of Lokeśa.

Just above, in the discussion of dialogue style, we saw that the term is used for the Buddha in SvP IIb.

[29] In an email from Harunaga Isaacson, he writes, "The term/epithet *Śrīghanaḥ* hardly occurs in the late Indian tantric texts." [30] Davidson (1981: 54),Wayman (1985: p. 80), and with Raviśrījñāna's commentary Lal (1994: 45) [31] 'His most frequent name in the avadānamālās is Śrīghana'.(Speyer 1906-9: p. xxvi)

2.1.9 Linguistic features

The linguistic features which are peculiar to NBS (described at 1.5 on page 22) serve to place a text in Nepal in this period. They are not adequate, by themselves, to mark a Garland text, but they do help to situate the Garland texts as a whole in mediæval Nepal. There are, of course, Buddhist Sanskrit texts by Nepalese authors in good Sanskrit without either BHS influences or Newar-isms, such as śāstras by Nepalese pandits. On the other hand, there are Nepalese Sanskrit texts where the Newar-isms are far more numerous, such as the GRV and hybrid Newari/Sanskrit ritual manuals. These linguistic quirks may largely be attributable to persistent features of BHS, but that in itself is interesting as BHS forms, with the exception of specific lexical items such as *tāyin* largely drop out of the better later Sanskrit texts on Buddhist topics, as evidenced by the Vajrayāna commentarial tradition.

2.1.10 Summary: Garland text criteria and coherence

It will by now be clear that within the mass of Sanskrit texts written by the Vajrayāna Buddhists of Nepāl Maṇḍala there is a coherent subset of texts, which I tentatively call the Garland literature. These works are all large *avadāna* collections composed with an eye to the performance of *vrata*s, they are all in verse, and most of them derive from easily identified Indian originals. The coherence of the Garland texts stands in contrast to the far greater corpus of Nepalese Buddhist literature, most of which is in Sanskrit before 1550 and most in Newari or mixed Newari and Sanskrit afterwards.

The coherence of this particular grouping is most strained in the case of the SvP. The case that versions of the SvP which share the majority of our criteria belong to the Garland genre is defensible on stylistic grounds alone. Alone among the other Garland texts they are not recensions of an Indian precursor, are not a collection of *avadāna*s, and do not specifically recommend the performance of lay *vrata*s. Therefore I conclude that the later versions of the SvP, those which do accord with the stylistic and lexical features of the other Garland texts, were not part of the same process of deliberate reformulation of Indian materials. Nonetheless, in stylistic terms the Garland versions of the SvP are strikingly similar to the other Garland texts and may be contemporary reworkings, in the same spirit, of the most venerable Nepalese Buddhist text.[32]

The place of the MJM is a difficult problem, because it is a more sophisticated text than its neighbours. This is most apparent in its use of metre. The GKV, RAM and SvP confine themselves to *anuṣṭubh* almost exclusively; the BhKA is somewhat more adventurous, and the MJM has a much broader palette and draws upon it more frequently. There are two tempting explanations that spring to hand: evolution or decay. I am not sure that either will do even if they could be proved. J. Tatelman in his study of the BhKA asserted that the only definite relation that could be shown was that the BhKA was dependent on the GKV, on the grounds that it borrowed the *sarvasṛṣṭi-Lokeśvara* episode; but of course this is present in the GKV's own source, the KV, which was widely known. In the absence of internal evidence or definite information about composition from colophons or other external sources, I am inclined to reject any diachronic theory on the simple grounds that it is just as likely, given the dense, urban and competitive nature of Newar Buddhism, that the various texts were composed in two or more rival schools.

Although I will be concerned almost exclusively with the GKV for the remainder of this thesis, several of the problems that arise in reading the GKV also pertain to other Garland texts: authorization, the affirmation of Nepalese iconography and rituals, the implied relation between lay patrons and Vajrācāryas, the use and ignorance of Sanskrit, and the necessity of drawing in a wide range of other evidence (inscriptional, art historical, Newari, Nepali and Tibetan materials) in trying to understand these texts.

[32] This confirms the tremendous importance of the SvP, and also points to its probable antiquity.

2.2 Evident sources of the GKV.

The GKV is indebted to three Indian texts: the KV, the BCA, and an otherwise unknown late verse text. From the KV, the GKV derives its overall structure and most of its narrative, but very little directly cited material. By contrast, chapters VIII and XVIII are almost exclusively direct citation from a version of the BCA which apparently circulated independent of Prajñākaramati's commentary. Finally, there are about 20 verses cited in those two chapters which apparently come from some other source.

While there is very little citation from the KV, the GKV is largely a verse reworking of the KV. The exact relationship between the two texts is not, in fact, adequately described by terms such as 'borrowing', as there is a more complex and deliberate relationship to do with borrowing not content but authority from a prestigious Indian Buddhist text. This is, as I note elsewhere, apparently a general feature of the Garland texts, and its nature and functions are analyzed at 3 on page 68.

The only accurate and substantive previous study of the GKV is that of Giuseppe Tucci (1923), based on Burnouf's manuscript. His opinion of the GKV is not favourable; it is an "interminable litany" which "monotonously repeats the basic core of the work," (1923: 615). Aesthetics aside, he did recognize the stylistic similarities between the GKV and the SvP, outlined the extensive citations of the BCA, and speculated on the origins of the other verse materials in chapters VIII and XVIII. Although he was aware of some variations in the text of the BCA as cited, he did not recognize the extent of the divergence of the BCA as cited in the GKV from the other extant Sanskrit versions. Finally, Tucci offered a preliminary edition of a collection of verses, numbering about 20 in all, which occur in chapters VIII and XVIII. He speculated there that they were from an unknown work of Śāntideva to do with the six perfections.

2.2.1 Borrowing from the KV

The structural relationship

A comparison of the chapter headings of the GKV and the KV show that the debt of the newer text to the older is not merely nominal. This is best demonstrated by a tabular comparison (see table 2.3 on the next page), from which it is clear that the two texts are, structurally at least, very similar indeed.

Structure of the GKV

This chapter by chapter comparison of the KV and GKV suggests that there is a common structure to the two texts. The broad division of the text into a collection of miracle stories — in the GKV chapters II-XV — and an extended vision narrative — GKV XVI — is consistent, but both the outermost frame and the internal logic of the texts as generated by the frames is substantially different. The framing narratives follow a series of teaching dialogues, each of which is linked to its enclosing frame by a guarantee that the message taught by the guru in the inner frame is faithfully transmitted by the teacher in the next frame out. Typically, the deeper the frame, the further back in time; and the teacher in an outer frame was, in a past life, a student listening to the discourses of the teacher in the enclosed frame. A simplified map of the overall structure in the GKV can be seen in diagram 2.4 on page 67.

This use of the *guruśiṣyaparaṃparā* as a linking device has two consequences. First, it accords well with the repeated emphasis on the Path and the understanding that many of the characters in the text are moving along from life to life, first as confused beings, then as students, and eventually as teachers, Bodhisattvas and finally Buddhas. A startling example of this occurs in the third chapter of

	GKV	GKV 22	KV	GKV 21
triratnabhajana	I	I	lacking	I
avīcisaṃśodhana	II	II	I.2	II
sattvadhātuparimokṣaṇam	IIIa	III	I.3	IIIa
maheśvarādidevasamutpādana	IIIb	IV	I.4	IIIb (candrādyutpattir)
sarvākārasarvasattvaprabodhana	IV	V	I.5-8	IV
durdānta	V	VI	I.5-8	V
adhomukha	VI	VII	I.9	VI
rūpamayī	VII	VIII	I.10	VII
balisaṃbodhana	VIII	IX	I.11	VIII
tamondhakārabhūmi	IX	X	1.12	IX
śuddhāvāsikasukuśujadevaputroddhāraṇa	X	XI	1.13	X
siṃhaladvīparākṣasīparibodhanoddhāraṇa	XI	XII	1.14	XI
vārāṇaśīkṛmikīṭoddhāraṇa	XII	XIII	1.15	XII
māgathikasattvaprabodhanoddhāraṇa	XIII	XIV	1.16	XIII
śrījetārāmaviśvabhūdarśanasukhāvatīpratyudgama	XIV	XV	1.16b	XIV
siṃhalasārthavāhoddhāraṇa	XV	XVI	2.1	XV
sarvasattvoddhāraṇasaṃbodhimārgasthāpanādi	XVIa	XVII	2.2	XVI
ṣaḍakṣarīmahāvidyopadeśa	XVIb	XVIII	2.3-2.6	XVII
maheśvaromādevīsaṃbodhivyākaraṇopadeśa	XVIc	XIX	2.7	XVIII
sarvasabhālokasaddharmaśravaṇotsāhādi. . .	XVII	XX	lacking	XIX
śikṣāsaṃvarasamuddeśa	XVIII	XXI	2.8	XX
kṛpādṛṣṭī	(XIX)	XXII	lacking	XXI

Figure 2.3: Chapter correlation of the old GKV, the KV and the new recensions of the GKV in 22 or 21 chapters.

the GKV when, in an embedded narrative told by a past Buddha, we hear that Avalokiteśvara after having emanated all the Brahminical deities from himself, in response to their questioning instructs each of them on how they will help deluded beings — deluded precisely because they believe in the supremacy of the brahminical gods — of the Kali Yuga to enter the path to enlightenment. He then predicts that they too, through their good intentions and patient stewardship of these beings, will become Great Beings and Bodhisattvas, will win rebirth in Sukhāvatī and will finally become Buddhas.

Second, it serves to authorize the text by recourse not just to the most recent Buddha, but to past Buddhas as well. Whereas the KV makes a claim to being the word of the Buddha through the use of the familiar introductory phrase *evaṃ mayā śrutam*, the GKV drops this, and indeed the whole first chapter of the KV, and replaces it with a framing narrative which extends the chain of teachers and students forward in history through India and Upagupta to Nepal and Jinaśrī. In other words, whereas the KV claims to be a reliable report of what Śākyamuni Buddha said (including his report of the discourses of previous Buddhas), the GKV instead makes the somewhat more plausible claim to be a reliable transmission of what Śākyamuni and several other previous Buddhas all said.[33]

Direct citations

The GKV wraps the entire narrative of the KV in an extra pair of framing narratives, but the order and plot of the miracle stories of Avalokiteśvara are largely identical in the two sūtras. As the GKV is a verse text, it can only cite the KV in the rare cases where it has verse text, and indeed it does do so twice. However, the GKV omits some verses from the KV and substantially changes others; and the only case of exact citation is a pericope of early Śaiva material for which the source is not yet known.

Śaiva stotra In KV IV, when Avalokiteśvara has emanated all the Brahmanical deities, he instructs Maheśvara, who will incarnate in the Kali Yuga and be treated as the highest god by deluded people who have rejected the Buddhist path. They compose a verse for him, which is picked up unchanged in the parallel account in GKV III.

ākāśaṃ liṅgam ity āhuḥ pṛthivī tasya pīṭhikā
ālayaḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ līlayā[a] *liṅgam ucyate*
(KV N1 p.28; GKV N2 24r.4)

[a] GKV N2: liyanāl

Space, they say, is (Śiva's) *liṅgam*, with the earth its footstool,
The domain of all beings is playfully called his *liṅgaṃ*.

Regamey (1971: p. 431) notes that this verse has a close parallel in the Skandhapurāṇa, differing only in the use of characteristically Buddhist terms.[34] Although the composers of the GKV might well have been familiar with the *Skandhapurāṇa*, there is no independent evidence to suggest that they were aware of the original source for this verse. Recent work on dating the two texts has pushed the origins of the *Skandhapurāṇa* back to the 7th century and the KV to at least the 6th, suggesting that there may be some third source from which both derived this verse. Moreover, the verse as we have it does not occur in the earliest known version of the *Skandhapurāṇa*, currently being edited from Nepalese manuscripts in Leiden.[35] Thus, the authors of the GKV, although they

[33] On this see 3 on page 68 below. [34] Regamey writes, "Une citation aussi exacte du Purāṇa dans un sūtra du Mahāyāna populaire, si incohérent et embrouillé est vraiment instructive. . . . Il prouve que pour les textes dans le genre du *Kāraṇḍavyūha* ces sources sont à chercher avant tout dans la vaste littérature des Purāṇā." (432) [35] P.C. Bisschop, in an email of 7 May 2001, kindly confirmed that this verse could not be found in the extant electronic edition of the earliest *Skandhapurāṇa* but did note a similar verse occuring in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*.

do simply carry it over from their source text, may also have known this verse from Śaiva purāṇas current in the Kathamandu Valley.

Bali's verses. The asura king Bali composes all the other verse in the KV.[36] On recognizing Avalokiteśvara he recites a short poem expressing his joy at meeting the great Bodhisattva and his conviction that his life has now fulfilled its purpose, beginning *adya me saphalaṃ janma.*(Chandra 1981: 46) In the GKV, Bali produces a poem beginning with the same line at the corresponding location, but it is shorter, and while the sense is roughly similar the two poems are not identical. Later in the same chapter of the KV, Bali composes a praise poem (60) which the GKV omits altogether. This may well be a result of the wholesale importation of large sections of another verse text into the GKV's version of this chapter, leaving no space for the original verses; but it is perhaps a sign of a certain obstinate creativity that the authors of the GKV determined to rewrite the only Buddhist verse material they did borrow from their source text.

Adapting the plot

The GKV tends to follow the narrative line of the KV, converting the high Sanskrit of the older text into verse form, often simplifying the language and adding embellishments. When the GKV has new material to add, such as a recommendation to perform the Poṣadha vow or a description of the benefits of Avalokiteśvara's name, it usually inserts this material into natural breaks in the flow of the KV narrative. This process can be seen at its simplest in a comparison of a rather short episode in which Avalokiteśvara manifests as a bee to rescue the worms living in Vārāṇasī. In the KV this is the fifteenth chapter of the first section; it is the twelfth chapter of the GKV.[37]

The story is simple. Avalokiteśvara decides to rescue the worms living in the sewage of Vārāṇasī. He takes the form of a bee, and hums "Namo Buddhāya, namo Dharmāya, namo Saṅghāya." The worms, hearing him, begin to repeat and remember this phrase,[38] and by the merit accruing from that are reborn in Sukhāvatī.

Here is the moment of the worms hearing him and taking up the sound from the KV:

tad eṣāṃ śabdaṃ niścārayati namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namo saṅghāya iti. tac chrutvā te ca sarve prāṇakāḥ namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namo saṅghāyeti nāmam anusmārayanti. (80)	For them he uttered this phrase: "Namo Buddhāya, namo Dharmāya, namo Saṅghāya". They heard it, and all of those creatures came to remember this chant: "Namo Buddhāya, namo Dharmāya, namo Saṅghāya".

And here it is in the GKV (XII.8-12, N2 83v.1):

[36] All references to the KV will, unless otherwise noted, be to the useful facsimilae edition published in the Śata-Piṭaka series. [37] See Douglas (1998) for an edition and translation of this chapter. [38] The specific term used is *nāmam anu√smṛ*. Just here it does not refer to Avalokiteśvara's name or that of the text itself, but rather the homage to the Three Jewels understood as an invocation upon which they can, in a chordate way, meditate. *nāman* has the special sense of a divine name as the object of meditation, and elsewhere in the GKV and KV *nāman* can refer to the name of the bodhisattva or book. *anu√smṛ* does not simply mean remember, but rather a recollecting meditation such as chanting litanies or mantras.

namo buddhāya dharmāya saṃghāyeti praṇoditaṃ
madhuraśabdam uccārya bhramate sa viyaccaran
taṃ khe bhramantam ālokya sarve te prāṇakā api[a]
tat kalāravam ākarṇya cintayanty evam utsukāḥ
aho 'yaṃ sukhavān pakṣī bhramate khe 'pi[b] *yathecchayā*
kim anena kṛtaṃ puṇyaṃ yenaivaṃ carate sukhaṃ
kim asmābhiḥ kṛtaṃ pāpaṃ yenāmedhyāśritā vayaṃ
iti vicintya te sarve kṛmayas tatsukhecchitāḥ
tadvirāvam[c] *anuśrutvā saṃtiṣṭhante tadunmukhāḥ*
tathā te kṛmayaḥ sarve tannāmasmṛtibhāvitāḥ

[a] *prāṇakāś cāpi*: N2 [b] *kheti*:N0 T [c] All mss. read virācam, probably spuriously from *vi* √ *rac*; N2 emends to ⋆*vikācam*.

He intoned "Namo Buddhāya Dharmāya Saṅghāya", and singing in a sweet voice flew around in the sky. When all those beings saw him meandering in the air and heard his soft sounds, they longingly thought:
"Oh! Such a happy bee that wanders in the air as it pleases. What merit did he do that he lives so happily — What evil have we done, that we dwell in sewage." Thinking this all the worms wanted his happiness. They listened to his song and remained staring up at him; thus, by recollecting his chanting the worms were all transformed.

The author of the GKV has embellished and enlivened the story in the process of setting it to verse. This is counterbalanced by a tendency to simplify the language of the KV, sometimes quite drastically. The KV goes on to tell us the reason for their rebirth as worms, at the same time as it expresses the power of their liberation:

te ca sarve buddhanāmasmaraṇamātreṇa viṃśatiśikharasamudgataṃ satkāyadṛṣṭiśailaṃ jñānavajreṇa bhittvā, sarve te sukhāvatyāṃ lokadhatāv upapannāḥ. (KV N1 f. 80)

And they all shattered the 20-peaked mountain of belief in a permanent self with a vajra of awareness which consisted only of the recollection of the invocation of Buddha. All of them were reborn in the realm of Sukhāvatī.

The GKV leaves this out entirely; and in general it does omit much that is complex or even witty in the KV. It does, however, insert new doctrinal material where it can, and in this case the career of the ex-worms is expanded not only by the addition of an intermediate incarnation as flying insects, but once in Sukhāvatī, their progress in attaining various stages is explored in more detail; in particular their attainment of the "triple Awakening" (*trividhāṃ bodhiṃ*) is noted. In other contexts the progress through accumulating the requisites of enlightenment (*bodhisaṃbhāraṃ*) and the six perfections is detailed. This reflects a concern with path-doctrine typical of later Indian Buddhism that has little place in the KV.

2.2.2 Citations from the BCA

The citations from the BCA occur in two blocks; in GKV VIII we find verses from all chapters of the BCA, and in GKV XVIII, verses from chapters five through nine. The verses for students in XVIII follow the order of the source text with some breaks:[39]

V.1—59, 70—102, 107—8
VI.1—12, 112—3, 126—7, 130—4
VII.1—3

[39] See also Tucci's article. I have corrected his account where necessary; in particular, he seems not to have noticed most of the variant readings from the BCA. It is possible that the Burnouf manuscript of the GKV, which I have not been able to locate, was produced with one eye on a manuscript of the BCA which follows the known manuscripts and silently emended the variants in the GKV tradition. This seems unlikely, however, given the faithfulness of most GKV manuscripts to its embedded tradition of BCA readings.

VIII.1—11b, 12—16
IX.1—5

The citations in VIII do not follow the order of the BCA so closely:

II.1—9, 21—32, 34—50ab, 51cd, 57—9, 61—6
III.1—5
I.4—19, 26—31, 34—5.
IV.1, 3cd, 12cd, 4—6ab, 8cd—10, 13, 17—9, 21, 23cd, 25, 28—9ab, 27ab, 30, 33, 35, 39—40.
VI. 13, 100. VII. 12. VI.14, 45. VII. 15, 39, 27, 46ab, 37, 38ab, 41—5, 48, 52—3, 55—7ab, 58ab, 59, 64
VIII. 5—13, 19ab, 20, 22ab, 40—1, 60ab, 63cd, 64cd, 77—8.
IX. 144, 151—68.
VIII.117, 119—37.
VI.1—2. V.12cd. VI.6cd–7ab, 9—10, 21, 25, 33, 47—49ab, 67ab, 69,97—9, 101—3, 105—7, 110—9, 122—3, 126—7, 133—4.
V.97, 99—102.
original material for a few ślokas
III.6—23, 25—33.
IV.48. V.1—19, 22, 25—33.

Bali's speech makes more extensive and creative use of the BCA than the simple citations of XVIII. First, the order here does not strictly follow the order of the verses as they occur in the BCA. More significantly, while the verses listed here correspond to verses in the BCA, in many cases the exact verse cited does not match the BCA in its printed editions, that is, Minayeff's edition of the root text and de la Vallee Poussin's edition with Prajñākāramati's commentary, together with the two more recent editions of the root text and commentary in the Bibliotheca Buddhica and Bauddha Saṃskṛta Granthāvalī series.

Divergences

The variations in the BCA as cited within the GKV and as found in other BCA traditions are of two kinds. First, the authors of the GKV adapted the BCA for their purposes; and second, the verses of the BCA itself which are cited appear to include variants not known in other Sanskrit manuscripts.

Adaptations. Citations have been changed into second person exhortations from the reflective monologue of the original text. The composer of the GKV rearranged various verses to fit the meter while consistently substituting *tvam* for *aham* and so on. I have included edited fragments which highlight these changes in an appendix.

Variations. What is more startling for contemporary historians of Buddhism is the variant readings which the manuscripts of the GKV preserve. In some cases half verses are completely different; elsewhere, we simply have variations in a particle. The GKV manuscripts are remarkably uniform in preserving these variants, however, and there are occasional subsequent errors within the GKV tradition at these loci which serve to confirm the age of the readings. These variant readings appear to be concentrated in the citations from what is now chapters 2 and 3.[40] The systematic substitution of second person for first person forms is not a factor in the citations from chapter 2, and there is

[40] Chapters 2 and 3 were probably a single chapter in the original text. See Śāntideva (1995) cited below.

no similar programmatic pattern that I can detect which informs the variants. It seems, therefore, that the composers of the GKV had access to a manuscript tradition of the BCA different from any presently available in Sanskrit.

From the evidence of the manuscripts, it is clear that this BCA tradition did not include the *Pañjikā* of Prajñākāramati, for that commentary in several places cites the root text against the variants in the GKV tradition. The existence of other manuscript traditions of the BCA has been known for some time. Skilton and Crosby, in the introduction to their translation (1995), summarize the present state of study of the textual transmission of the BCA. In brief, there is an earlier, shorter version which survives in three manuscripts from Tunhuang. This material is being studied by Saito Akira, who has published studies of the latter chapters. They write,

> This Tun-huang recension is considerably shorter than the present version, by some 210½ verses (701½ as against 912). Furthermore, a number of the verses appearing in the Tun-huang recension are not in the canonical recension. The bulk of the internal differences between the two recensions appears from Chapter 5 onwards. (xxxi)

Unfortunately, so far as I know the Tunhuang materials which Saito Akira has been using to build a comparison of the older and newer recensions of the BCA are not yet available, and it is therefore impossible for me to do much more than note the existence of these variants.This would appear to have been the attitude of the more intelligent scribes within the Nepalese tradition as well. Within the past twenty years, printed editions in Newari of both the GKV (Sakya 1997) and BCA (Vājrācarya 1986) have been published in Nepal. Both books preserve the original verses in Sanskrit, however, and it is immediately clear that they do not attempt to harmonize the two transmissions; the GKV's version of the BCA verses is apparently considered an independent recension.

Even where, as is the case in manuscript C1, a Nepalese scribe recognized that there was a problem, the two versions of the verse are simply noted side by side. At XVIII.58 the GKV recension has:

> yasmād bhayāni sarvāṇi duḥkhāny apramitāny api |
> cittād eva samudyānti sarveṣāṃ bhavacāriṇāṃ[a] ||

[a] kathitaṃ tattvavadinā: C1 (194v) adds, following known texts of the BCA

Note, however, that manuscript C1 adds the text of the BCA transmission in this instance. While the scribe of C1 is not consistent in his corrections, and makes no such efforts in chapter VIII, here he apparently did have a copy of the BCA available (in what became its published transmission, probably with the *Pañjikā*) and simply added its reading of the BCA into his transcription.[41] This refusal to eliminate the reading of the GKV suggests that there was some awareness of the different readings preserved in the two textual traditions.

When I asked the editor[42] of the recent Newari translation of the GKV why so much material from the BCA was cited in the GKV even when the GKV continues to circulate independently in Nepal, I was told that chapter VIII, in particular, was a commentary on the BCA especially suitable for Newars. Although I presume he knew that the two versions were substantially different, as he is a scholar widely read in the Sanskrit Buddhist literature, I did not call his attention to them directly. We will return to consider this description of the relation between the GKV and one of its major sources below, but here let me assess its accuracy. It is not uncommon for a commentary to preserve

[41] This particular feature does not show up in any other manuscript of the GKV, although some manuscripts (J1 and NGMPP E 1474/6 being the most obvious) were copied with considerable editing and revision. Although its appearance here is revealing, it is all that much more mysterious that no other instances of consulting the manuscript of the BCA appear either in C1 or elsewhere. I cannot claim to have searched exhaustively, but so far this is the only instance I have seen.

[42] Min Bahadur Sakya.

otherwise lost readings in a root text, and in this the GKV certainly does act as one. It offers no glosses or explanations for the cited verses, however, and it would be most unusual for a commentary to change its root text as radically as the GKV adapts the BCA.

At least one manuscript of the as yet unedited[43] AśAM (Cambr. add. 1482) includes the *entire* BCA as its ninth chapter, although I have not consulted the manuscript to see if the version preserved there shows the same idiosyncrasies as the GKV transmission. No Newar pandit has ever mentioned this fact to me, although it is relevant to the question of the inclusion of BCA material in the GKV. The AśAM is not, however, a widely used text at the present time. The bluntness of this inclusion suggests that the AśAM was compiled at a time when there was not the skill or time needed to select from, and redact, the BCA as part of enfolding it into a Garland text.

Purposes

The explanation offered by a present day Buddhist intellectual, that the GKV functions as a Newar commentary on the BCA, can be seen as a legitimating or apologetic strategy for explaining an awkward feature. The wholesale inclusion of another text may be taken by modern scholars as a sign of unoriginality, especially where, as in the GKV, there is vanishingly little commentary in the text. In practical terms, of course, the GKV was composed with no expectation that the intended audience (wealthy lay supporters and the politically powerful) would have any access to the text as written, since they had no Sanskrit.[44] It was understood from the outset that the GKV was only part of a textual performance which would take one of two exclusive forms: ritual recitation or public exposition. The latter necessarily involved wrapping the Sanskrit text with oral commentary in Newari and frequent recourse to paintings.

2.2.3 Citations from other sources

Occasionally one encounters sections of the text which must be citations, although I have not yet been able to identify most of them. As an example, there is a short stotra at the the end of the fifth chapter on the the Asuras. Avalokiteśvara has been teaching them in the form of an ācārya, and when he is satisfied that they are established on the Buddha's path (*bodhimārge pratiṣṭhāpya* V.48, 62, 98, etc.) he leaves; just before he disappears he reveals himself (N2 41r6ff).

tataḥ so 'ntarhitaḥ khe sthaḥ prabhāsayan samantataḥ |
dhṛtvā lokeśvaro mūrtiṃ sarvāṃs tān samadarśayat ||
tam ākāśe prabhāsantaṃ lokeśvaraṃ jinātmajaṃ |
dṛṣṭvā te dānavāḥ sarve babhūvur vismayānvitāḥ ||

Then he (the asuras' guru) vanished, yet remained in the sky shining in all directions. He assumed the form of Lokeśvara and looked upon all of them. The asuras were astonished to see the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara shining in the sky.

They respond by worshipping him, as he disappears, with the following verses:

[43] Apparently Michael Hahn is close to completing an edition of this text. [44] This is a simplification; there were in reality three audiences for the GKV: a court audience, a patron audience and the community of Vajrācāryas and Sākyas. See 3.3.8 on page 89.

namas te bhagavān nātha sadā te śaraṇe sthitāḥ |
bodhicaryāvrataṃ dhṛtvā carāma tat prasīdatu ||
yad asmad aparādhaṃ tat kṣantavyaṃ bhavatā sadā |
evam asmān samālokya saṃpālayitum arhati ||

We bow to you, blessed lord; we abide forever in your refuge. We have taken up the vow of the Bodhisattvas and will perform it: may this please you! Whatever evils we have done, may you always forgive them. Look upon us, then, and please protect us!

I cannot be sure that this is not the work of the composer of the GKV, but I suspect that it is either a prayer common at the time of the composition of this text, or a citation from another popular source.

2.2.4 Tucci's verses

Tucci has argued that a block of verses in VIII is all that remains from an otherwise unknown work of Śāntideva's. While it would be delightful to claim to have found new material by that master, I suspect that they may, in fact, be Nepalese in origin, given the presence of more ornate verse in other NSB literature. The other possible source is Vanaratna himself; we have no evidence that he had a direct hand in composing any of the Garland works, but we do know that he studied with a Sanskrit paṇḍit and poet in the Telugu country and at least one of his poems survives, the *Ratnamālāstotra*, reprinted in Pandey (1994).

2.3 GKV and KV: A history of confusion

The historical relationship between the KV and the GKV is by now clear: the GKV is a verse recension of the KV, composed about a millennium later in Nepal. Yet the possible confusion between the two texts has good grounding, and before we go on to explore how the GKV uses its peculiar relationship with the KV in the next chapter, it is necessary to consider the internal evidence found both in the KV and the GKV which might lead to their confusion.

Was the KV a verse text?

While the KV as we have it in the Nepalese manuscript tradition and in the Gilgit manuscripts which Mette (1993) has studied is a prose text, in the Tamondhakāra chapter it refers to itself six times as a verse text. Here are two of these passages:[45]

> Listen, sirs, those who will listen to a quatrain verse of the noble Kāraṇḍavyūha, king jewel of the Mahāyāna sūtras, and will preserve it, cause it to be spoken, master it, promulgate it, and strenuously concentrate upon it — they will gather a heap of merit.
>
> I cannot, oh well-born sons, quantify the heap of merit arising from the quatrain verses of the Kāraṇḍavyūha, king jewel of the Mahāyāna sūtras.

In the very phrases in which the KV asserts its metric nature, it demonstrates the lack of metre. This contradiction can be solved in a number of ways. Perhaps the KV was originally a verse text, and where comparable texts such as the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka and the Gandhavyūha have preserved both verses and prose paraphrase, the KV simply lost its verses. There is one section of the KV which

[45] For the Sanskrit of this section see 2.16 on page 60 below.

is in verse, the stotra of Bali, but this is distinctly not reflective of the character of the whole work. It appears to be a prose text which never had a verse version. If there had been an alternation of verse and prose, we might expect to find verses in the Gilgit text, or at least a few metrical passages embedded in the received text, but we have neither apart from Bali's poem. As I noted above, some of the only verses we do have in the KV are brought over to the GKV, and they are very few indeed. A second possibility is that there was a 'felt need' to assert the metric quality of the KV, thus bringing it into line with other earlier Mahāyāna sūtras. This would be akin to the strategy adopted by Vajrayāna texts of asserting that the extant text is but a small part of the far greater original text; the Hevajra, for example, makes this claim about itself.[46] A third possibility, raised by Mette in a footnote to this passage, is that it is simply a 'cliché'; this strikes me as less probable.[47]

The confusion which may arise from this passage is of interest to us in reconstructing the history of the successive misidentifications of the KV and GKV because it may have provided a foundation for earlier scholars such as Winternitz who argued that because the GKV was in verse it was necessarily older. I should point out that that I have never seen this passage cited in secondary studies of Buddhist Sanskrit texts. If my second hypothesis above is correct, and the motivation for inserting this obviously false claim that the KV is a verse text was that its authors felt that it *should have been* a verse text, then there is an ironic congruence between the misguided attributions of those who placed the GKV earlier and the authors of the KV, who apparently thought that a verse text was somehow more authentic.

GKV calls itself KV

In the passages from GKV IX which correspond to this section in the KV, the GKV not surprisingly follows the same strategy of recommending its own use. It refers to itself as the *kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*, however, thus questioning its own identity; and it uses the same name in IV and elsewhere. In fact, the GKV only rarely refers to itself in any way that would allow an otherwise uninformed reader to distinguish it from the KV. Even in chapter colophons, usually tagged with the phrase "King jewel of Mahāyāna sūtras, the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*" (*guṇakāraṇḍavyūhamahāyānasūtraratnarāja*), there is ambiguity, as in some manuscripts the KV also refers to itself in this way. The problem is simply that *guṇa* may be taken as part of the name or as an adjective: the *Excellent Array of Reliquaries*, or the excellent *Array of Reliquaries*. Finally, not all manuscripts of the GKV are clear, either; although in the chapter colophons of the manuscript N1, the longer name is used, in the colophon proper we find the phrase "Here, with devotion, the Kāraṇḍavyūha is completed."[48] This lack of a consistently distinctive name, coupled with the KV's own references to itself as a verse text, may well have played a part in encouraging the persistent confusion between the two texts, although I have no specific evidence that Hodgson, Burnouf, or any other early scholar noticed this precise problem. As we know the relevant section of the KV to be as old as the oldest available manuscripts, we have to distinguish between the two sorts of confusing self reference. Certainly in the case of the GKV, whose Nepalese origins were denied by Amṛtānanda, and possibly also in the KV, this appears to be a deliberate policy of confusion; we will return to this problem in the next chapter.

[46] This sentimental projection of a gigantic original is a process which neatly complements another typical development in the life of a text, the accretion of much larger texts around small but influential compositions, as happened with the *Amoghapāśa Sūtra* which, in the course of a century, became the mere first chapter of the far larger *Amoghapāśakalparāja*.

[47] I had suspected at one point that this passage was an interpolation by the later Newar scribes seeking to justify the GKV, but Mette's work removed the basis for that suspicion. However, the longer version preserved in Nepal and edited by Samasrami and Vaidya does show considerable expansion of the basic theme, and in particular the last passage goes on to describe in some detail the practical benefits accruing from sponsoring the production of a manuscript of the KV.

[48] *kāraṇḍavyūhasaṃpūrṇṇaṃ ; bhaktyātra samupāgamat* |

2.4 Dating the GKV

While it is not too difficult to determine that the GKV must date from between the 13th century and 1493, it is rather challenging to be more precise. With the evidence we presently have, however, I believe we can only draw conclusions about the Garland literature as a whole based on some useful insights of Brinkhaus on the SvP. I will nonetheless review all of the clues I have been able to assemble.

There are no translations of any of the Garland texts into Chinese, and none into Tibetan before the 18th century, when a version of the SvP, explicitly recognized as a Nepalese text, was translated into Tibetan by the Great Tai Situ Panchen. On these grounds as well as those argued above, it is clear that the GKV, as a Garland text, must have been composed in Nepal after the decline of Indian Vajrayāna Buddhism.[49]

2.4.1 Hard data about manuscripts

The earliest manuscripts for the GKV that I have so far been able to find are IASWR MBB-I-8 (N0), dated to 1493 and NGMPP G14/23 (N1) from 1632. These two manuscripts already show considerable divergence, and fortunately appear to represent two of three basic divisions in the stemmatic tree. N0 is emended in places, suggesting that it was checked against its source in at least a cursory way, and thus that some of the errors it contains derive from its original. N0 must, therefore, be at least two (and very likely three or more) generations removed from the first manuscript. This would suggest that the text had already been in circulation for at least three generations after the original, perhaps some 60 years, before N0, somewhere in the mid-15th century.

Evidence presented just below for the popularity of the text in the 16th century might lead to the conclusion that the text was copied more frequently, so that the generations were shorter and errors in the tradition accumulated more quickly. This argument assumes that all manuscripts are 'only children'. Given that specific manuscripts have a sort of prestige value, and that many copies can be made of one manuscript, there is no reason to believe that an increase in the frequency of copying will lead to a proportionate increase in the introduction of errors. One useful outcome of a complete study of all manuscripts of the GKV, should it ever be possible, would be a baseline dataset for the copying of manuscripts among the Newar Buddhist monasteries.

Evidence for ritual use At Itũ Bāhaḥ in Kathmandu is a stone inscription dated to 1595 which mentions the GKV by name. Hem Raj Sakya, in his history of the Samyak festival.[50], reproduces a rubbing of the inscription in such as way as to make analysis of the original nearly impossible, but provides an extended transcription and commentary.[51] In the summary account we find that the donor, a Sakyabhikṣu named Śrī Gudocandra, gave a magnificent statue of Dīpaṅkara and a range of ritual implements, as well as endowing various rituals to be carried out at the Samyak every year. Among these we find that he sponsored the production of gold-lettered *Prajñāpāramitā* and *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* manuscripts and set aside sufficient endowment for them to be recited each year.

[49] This, incidentally, disproves Brough's hypothesis that Tibetans transmitted the Svayaṃbhū legend to Nepal from Khotan. If some form of the text had already existed in Tibetan, the Tai Situpa, a great scholar of both Tibetan and Sanskrit, would surely have noted it at the time of his translation. He is clear that the text is Nepalese. [50] For more on the Samyak, see Gellner (1992) His suggestion (185-6) that the Newar Samyak is a continuation of an earlier Indian ritual is convincing and would repay investigation. [51] Neither I nor, apparently, John Locke (1985: 288) who also utilizes Hem Raj Sakya's account, have been able to consult the original. I have checked Hem Raj's account against the reproduced inscription where possible and it is a faithful account, but the section which interests me here is obscured in the reproduction.

In Douglas (1997), considering the discussion of this inscription in Locke, I asserted that this was the first definite record of the ritual use of the GKV. Subsequent consideration of the systematic confusion between the KV and GKV within Locke's work had led me to wonder if this was in fact a reliable historical reference to the GKV; however, while John Locke elsewhere confuses the two texts, the Nepalese sources do not. Although the Samyak festivals have been resurrected and survive to the present day, this specific ritual is no longer performed; it lapsed along with the Samyaks generally as a result of the Gorkha conquest of Nepal in the late 18th century. The manuscript itself has apparently also disappeared, unfortunately.

That the GKV was chosen for this ritual suggests that by 1595 it was an established and prestigious text; it is unlikely to have attained this degree of ritual importance within a century of its composition. However this is only circumstantial evidence, and there is the slim possibility that it was deliberately put forward in this way as part of a programme of legitimation. At the very least we can deduce that the text did exist in order to be copied before 1595, and probably had already been folded into the cycle of ritual recitations well before this. The other ritual recitations of the GKV for which there is solid evidence include an annual recitation at Pintu Bahi[52] and its recitation to Bũgadyaḥ as part of his annual refurbishment. There may be evidence for the antiquity of this practice (and hence the GKV itself) in the chronicle of Bũgamati which Bruce Owens is presently researching, but I have not had a chance to review this material.

On the basis of the manuscript tradition at its first emergence, in N0, and its popularity as attested by the Itũ Bāhal inscription, the text would appear to be a minimum of 150 years old by 1632.

2.4.2 Inconclusive arguments

There are two distinct lines of argument which might have helped to date the GKV but which are inconclusive given present evidence. Both depend on relating topics within the GKV to external sources, but both finally fail to make successful connections. As we are able to date the GKV to within a few decades, these arguments may be turned around to derive useful historical insights in subsequent chapters.

The Bũgadyaḥ procession The timing of the *rathacaṅkramayātrā* of Bũgadyo shifts twice in its history, once sometime in the late 13th century, and again under Śrīnivās Malla in the 17th. While the latter change has been discussed by John Locke (1980: 334) the earlier change is a mystery, although evidence from Dharmasvāmin (1230) and the GRV (1380) clearly shows a shift from "the eighth day of the middle autumn month" to a mid-spring performance. I will return to the timing problem itself at 4.2.3 on page 109. Here, what is interesting is that the GKV knows about this festival, and may prescribe a date for its performance.

In GKV IX.81c–84 (see 1.3.2 on page 15 for the text and translation), the yakṣas and rākṣasas, in an attempt to persuade Avalokiteśvara to stay, set up a stūpa and institute a chariot festival. Given the close links between the GKV and Bũgadyaḥ, this would certainly have been understood as a reference to the chariot festival of Bũgadyaḥ and the Svayaṃbhū Mahācaitya.[53] Nowhere in this passage does the GKV specify a *tithi* for the chariot festival. However, the prescriptions for the performance of the Poṣadha vow (I, IV) recommend that it be performed first on the eighth day of the bright half of Kārttik, that is, the same *tithi* as the earliest records for the chariot festival. By the mid-14th century, however, the main procession has shifted to the first day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, on which date it is still observed today. Shifting such a major festival would have been a

[52] While this is the monastery where Vanaratna (see chapter 4) stayed in the mid-15th century, I have not yet been able to inspect the actual manuscript and cannot put forward any hypothesis as to its antiquity. [53] The KV in the same place has *stūpāni* and *caṅkramāni*; the change to the singular and from a promenade to a chariot festival are significant.

momentous undertaking, and quite probably involved the exercise of considerable political power.[54] It should have left some memory or at least a mythical trace.

I had therefore hoped to find some evidence in the GKV which it would be possible to interpret either as an attempt to preserve the older timing for the festival or a clear justification for the newer date. However neither is apparent; the silence of most other sources is maintained by the GKV as well. As we will see below, this may well be because there were two or more processions happening each year, and the change was not perceived as sudden.

The historical Jayaśrī. J Tatelman (1996: p. xi) attempted to date the Garland texts by determining the historical dates for Jinaśrī or Jayaśrī, and thus the framing narrative which is so characteristic of the genre. He was properly cautious, and concluded with the possibility that Jayaśrī might refer to Jayamuni, the son of Jīvarāja, who completed his grandfather's great project of building Mahābauddha near Uku Bāhaḥ in Lalitpur. Unfortunately this brings us to a date of 1601, after the first known mention of the GKV, and over a hundred years after the first surviving manuscript of the GKV.[55]

I am not sure that it makes sense to look for evidence by which to date the Garland literature through determining the historical person who was, or who inspired, either Jayaśrī or Jinaśrī. The framing narrative and the way in which these two names are used within it makes it clear that they are seen as Newar echoes of Aśoka and Upagupta. It is somewhat peculiar that the king is named Jinaśrī and the priest Jayaśrī, as 'Jina' is a title of the Buddhas and 'Jaya' is a name associated with worldy rulers. As Tatelman notes, there were at least two Jayadevas at about the right time, Jayadeva I (r. 1030–7 or possibly rather longer) discussed at Regmi (1968: vol II., p.120ff.) and Petech (1984: p.39ff.) and Jayadeva II, (r. 1250–8) discussed at Regmi (1968: p.221ff.) and Petech (1984: p.89ff). Between the two rulers I would only note here that the visit of Atīśa and the establishment of a new foundation with some ties to Vikramaśīla in India took place during the reign of the earlier Jayadeva; this would seem to be adequate basis for a retrospective claim both to royal patronage of Buddhism and strong ties to Indian Buddhism. The problem remains, however, that the royal name is being used for the religious figure.

The mythical Jayaśrī There is one good source for the name Jayaśrī, however. In Wright's history, the narrative of the oppression of the Buddhists[56] concludes with the constructive response of the Buddhist community in Carumati Vihāra to found a new monastery. Subsequently,

> . . . There was a Miśra Brahmin named Jayaśrī. This Brahmin did not accept the philosophy of Śaṅkarasvāmi. He took the daughter of a lineage of Cārumati Vihāra monks, who had been forced to marry by Śaṅkarasvāmi, as his wife. The king, Śaṅkaradeva, said to this brahmin, "As you haven't abandoned Buddhism, remain a *baṃdya*." In a monastery on the far side of the Bāgamati, the son of the Miśra brahmin Jayaśrī was made a *baṃdya*.[57]

This monastery is Bhīchẽ Bāhal. Locke (1985: 82-5), in his discussion of this site, notes the lack of corroborating evidence for the antiquity of the monastery although the legend is still current. Nonetheless, this story does offer us a religious character who (a) stoutly resisted Brahminical pressures

[54] Elsewhere I have documented the interest shown by the Khāśiya kings, a Buddhist dynasty from Western Nepal, in Būgadyaḥ (Douglas 2002), and in chapter 4 I will consider whether this offers some explanation for the shift. [55] This family however, is of great interest generally; the great-grandfather Abhayamalla went on pilgrimage to India at a time when Western historians have assumed Bodh Gayā was abandoned, and returned with what appears to have been a model of the temple there; his grandson Jīvarāja secured Sikkhimese patronage for the Būgadyaḥ festival; and Jayamuni, the great-grandson, went to Vārāṇasī to study Sanskrit grammar and is said to have returned with a number of Buddhist texts.
[56] See also 4.3.1 below. [57] My translation from Cantab. add. 1592. ff.52b. Compare (Wright 1877: 123-4)

(b) engaged in dialogue with a king and (c) is exemplary for the specifically Newar style of tantric priest with caste endogamy, as well as a king who, although named for a Brahminical reformer, was prepared to help find a place for the Buddhists in his kingdom. While the historicity of this character must remain firmly in brackets for now — especially given the vexed chronology of his supposed interlocutor[58] — we do at least have a reference within the historical materials to one of our two key characters.

2.4.3 Conclusions based on the development of the SvP

Finally, we can make a general claim about the Garland literature as a whole, within which the GKV is firmly situated. Brinkhaus (1993) in an article I have already had ample cause to rely upon (see above, page 35) carefully notes that in version IIA we find mention of the king Yakṣamalla (r. 1428–80).[59] If his table of dependencies is correct, then version IIA precedes the Garland texts as a whole, giving us an earliest possible date of 1428, and more plausibly 1440 for SvP IIA and 1450 for SvP IIB/IIIA. While I accept the hypothesis put forward by Tatelman among others that the SvP is foundational for Newar Buddhist literature generally, it is certainly not the case that any specific feature, nor indeed the formation of the Garland genre, must have occurred first among the SvP texts. The doubled framing narrative, for instance, may well have been an innovation in the GKV, AśAM or BhKA before being picked up by the author(s) of SvP IIIA. The stylistic and morphological coherence of the Garland texts suggests that they were all composed in a relatively short period of time; thus questions of strict precedence between SvP IIB/IIIA and the other members will only be a matter of years, whereas the closest we can presently get in our dating will be a range of decades.

As we do have evidence for a date of some decades before 1493 for the GKV itself (see 2.4.1 on page 53 above), and from the arguments just above the Garland texts as a whole must have been composed not much before 1440 at the earliest, we have narrowed the dates for the Garland texts to roughly 1400-1480, and the GKV must have come early within that, perhaps as early as 1430. This corresponds to the years before and including Yakṣamalla's reign, described by Petech as the zenith of the Malla kingdom (Petech 1984: 168). This is considerably earlier than most previous estimates for the composition of the Garland texts, although it agrees with the estimates of Alexander von Rospatt, presently researching the history of the SvP.[60]

Previous studies have not recognized the coherence of the Garland texts within the larger corpus of Newar Buddhist Sanskrit literature and thus have assumed a much longer time span over which they would have been composed. Newari literature had blossomed in this period and was thriving in the 16th century (Lienhard and Manandhar 1988: xiii) while Buddhist Sanskrit texts were still being composed into the early 19th century.[61] The assumption has always been that Newar authors continued to compose their Buddhist sūtras and story collections into at least the 17th century. As we have seen, however, the interval between the composition of the Garland version of the SvP and the composition of the GKV is no more than 80 years and more probably 40. If we can take these two as typical, then all the texts in the genre may have been composed within a few decades. In

[58] Śaṅkara himself never visited the Valley, but an influential priest from Kāśī did visit the Valley twice in the early 12th century and initiated the sons of the king.(Gellner 1992: p. 86, drawing from DV Vajracharya 1980.) According to Wright's chronicle, if the priest in question is being confused with Śaṅkarācārya, then one of those sons was our Śaṅkaradeva. His reign according to Petech (1984: 46-7) was roughly 1069-82 and thus several decades too early for the pieces of this story to fit together properly. Nonetheless the frequency of his mention in later chronicles suggests that his fame and effects extended beyond the limits of his time. Perhaps it is important that the manuscript Calcutta A.15, one of the great captioned AsP manscripts (see 4.1.2 on page 102), was written during his reign. [59] Petech (1984: 168–82)
[60] Email, 5 July 2000. [61] We do not know just how unusual Amṛtānanda's ability to compose in Sanskrit was. Certainly by the evidence of inscriptions and colophons, most Newar scribes were far happier using Newari than Sanskrit by the 18th century.

any case, even if some of the Garland texts were composed in subsequent decades it is clear that the GKV dates from the early mid-15th century, and moreover that the distinctive style of the Garland texts was fixed in that period.

2.4.4 After the Garland texts: the rise of Nepāl Bhāṣā

The bulk of Nepalese literary composition, including that of Buddhist texts, shifted into Newari during the 16th century. However, we need here to distinguish carefully between the composition of new material and the translation of Sanskrit texts, whether Nepalese or Indian in origin. Bilingual ritual manuals in Sanskrit with Newari glosses are among the first Newari texts to appear, along with dramas in which the stage instructions are in Newari but the speeches in Sanskrit, Maithili, Bengali and so on. This clearly shows the low prestige, but high intelligibility, of Newari in the 16th and even 17th centuries. Even today, Sanskrit is the religious language for Newar Buddhists. Once the Garland texts had been composed they would have been used for ritualized storytelling, with a running Newari gloss and illustrated scrolls for support, by the priests who were responsible for telling moral tales at the *vrata* ceremonies. At some point, however, translations began to appear. The SvP (in Brinkhaus' scheme, version IIIB) was probably the first to be translated into Newari, possibly stimulated by its translation into Tibetan during the 18th century by the T'ai Situpa.[62] It is only in the 19th century that we can be sure the GKV itself had been translated into Newari, and it was retranslated and finally published only in 1998. Even so, the first *vratakathā* manuscripts we possess in Newari, dating from the 17th century, are almost certainly not the original translations. The lack of earlier manuscripts in this genre is surprising, but not, as Lienhard (1988: xv) thinks, necessarily evidence that they did not exist at all; only that the prestige accorded to Sanskrit was so great, and the spread of literacy so restricted, as to work against the production of written vernacular translations of these popular stories.

2.5 From a changing KV to a fixed GKV

Dating the composition of the GKV (and the other Garland texts) is one matter. A separate and equally interesting problem is to determine which version of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* had as its source. As we shall shortly see, this is not a trivial, or even a solvable, problem. Nonethless it is possible to show that there are elements in the longest recension of the KV which are lacking from the GKV, and similarly that there are elements in the GKV which are lacking from the shortest text of the KV. This suggests that the GKV was derived from the KV at a time when the KV itself was still liable to further expansion.

In contrast to the comparison above (2.2.1 on page 46), here we will look at a smaller block of text while paying attention to variation within the KV's own manuscript tradition. The textual tradition of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* is notoriously difficult and the enormous task of untangling it is beyond the scope of this study.[63] I will suggest some of the variation in the Nepalese manuscript tradition by resorting to the simple visual device of greying out those passages which may be later additions, as they are not common to all of the Nepalese manuscripts I was easily able to compare. This is, of course, a crude technique and I do not suggest that we might arrive at a best reading this way.

[62] Note, however, that it is version IA which is translated into Tibetan; this translation has itself been translated into English by Hubert Decleer (awaiting publication). [63] C. Regamey, many years ago, wrote that he was preparing a critical edition of the text; but this never saw the light of day. A. Mette has published a series of articles and books but so far no edition of the Nepalese text. Buddhadeva Bhattacarya Shastri, at the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, is presently collating some versions of the text preserved in Tibetan translation.

For the purposes of comparison, I have utilized five source texts:[64] the printed edition of Samasrami, reprinted without change in the Buddhist Sanskrit Text (Vaidya 1961: 278ff.) series (Sam), a facsimile manuscript published by Lokesh Chandra (N1 p.68l.4 ff.), an undated palm leaf manuscript (C1) in the Cambridge University Library (Cantab. 1267, 32v.ff), a paper manuscript dated to 1811 (C2, Cantab. 1321, 36r ff.) and a reasonably good late eighteenth-century[65] manuscript available to me (D, available in digital form on request). The printed text (Sam) of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* represents a long and apparently otherwise unknown version of the text. Lokesh Chandra's manuscript, which is used by Mette as a comparand in her study of the Gilgit manuscripts of the KV, contains some material not transmitted in D, and the Cambridge palm leaf manuscript C1 is the most conservative Nepalese source, which preserves several readings against all the others. Where possible and useful I have also referred to the Gilgit text (Mette 1997) as G; bear in mind that G is missing the beginning and end of every line and thus where I have included information from G it is necessarily incomplete.

This range of sources only serves to emphasize that the KV is a moving target. C1 frequently agrees with G against all the other versions (less so C2), suggesting that much of the expansion of the KV occurred in Nepal and not, as one might imagine, in Central Asia or India before 1300. This is by no means proof that a longer transmission had not already developed outside Nepal, but the rapid development of the text just within the later Nepalese sources[66] does seem to suggest that much of the expansion of the text in general can be credited to Nepalese redactors and authors. In turn, there are a few places where G has extra material compared to C1 as well as the later Nepalese tradition. Perhaps it shows the evolution of the Gilgit transmission from a trunk shared with C1. C2 shares a few readings with D but appears to represent a more conservative stage in the development of the text. Note, however, that C2, copied in the early 19th century, shows that a relatively conservative branch of the KV tree was still live long after the composition of the GKV.

Samasrami's sources? One problem outstanding in this comparison is the manuscript utilized by Samasrami. There is no introduction or critical matter in his edition, and thus I can only guess at the manuscript(s) he may have used. Vaidya is unhelpful:

> The text was published in Calcutta in 1873 by Satyabrata Samasrami, and my edition is based on it. The text as first printed is very corrupt, and as no good Mss. came to my hands in time, I could not much improve on it. (xv)

.

He goes on to complain of the "horrible Sanskrit of the later Tantric Buddhism", having as usual confused the history of the KV and GKV. He was apparently oblivious to the presence of BHS elements in the text which mark it as being rather older than most Vajrayāna materials, although Edgerton in 1953 had already done considerable work on the basis of Samasrami's edition of the KV, grouping it together with the *Laṅkāvatāra* and other non-metrical Mahāyāna Buddhist compositions in Sanskrit (Edgerton 1985: vol. I p. xxv). As there was at least one manuscript easily available to Vaidya, that in the ASB, and as the KV along with the *Pañcarakṣā* is the most common manuscript found from Indian or Nepalese sources, it is no small indication of Vaidya's inabilities that he had failed to secure even one other manuscript to check his edition.

[64] The number of manuscripts of the KV in circulation is very large indeed, running into the hundreds. I have made a preliminary survey of available manuscripts before selecting those utilized here. [65] This manuscript lacks a date in its colophon, but on the basis of script and the style of the single miniature a date of 1770–1820 is appropriate. [66] As evidenced by N1 and D compared to Samasrami's edition. Bear in mind that by the time of any paper manuscript of the KV in Sanskrit it would have been circulating only among Nepalese priests, monks and scribes for several centuries. Precisely dating C1 would be very helpful, and while the letter-forms are early Newa Lipi they are not Bhujimol or any other easily dated script; a provisional dating of early 15th century is reasonable.

To return to the problem of Samasrami's source, by the 1870s all of the Hodgson manuscripts which found their way to Cambridge, Paris and so on would have been long gone from Calcutta, leaving only the single manuscript listed in Mitra (1981: 95, 101). I have not been able to locate the Asiatic Society of Bengal manuscript of the GKV for this thesis, unfortunately;[67] but as noted above, the manuscript entries for the GKV and KV are hopelessly confused in Mitra's catalogue. As the KV manuscript in the ASB is only 82ff, of medium dimensions and not too densely written, it is highly unlikely that it is the source of Samasrami's edition, which presents a much extended version of the text. Other manuscripts, carrying shorter versions of the same text, can be up to 15% longer in folio count for the same size and script density. Of course, Samasrami might have acquired a copy of any of the many manuscripts that passed through Calcutta in the mid 1800s, and there were almost certainly manuscripts of the KV in private or university collections in Calcutta. It would seem, then, that Samasrami used an otherwise unknown manuscript for his edition.[68] I would hope to find other manuscripts which agree with his readings in collections of later Nepalese manuscripts such as the Āśā Sāphū Kuti.

Comparison within a brief passage. The object of this comparison is to show that the *Guṇa-kāraṇḍavyūha* depends on a middle-length *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, not as short as the shortest possible reconstructed Nepalese KV, and in fact longer than most of the versions I was able to find in manuscript. This can be established relatively quickly by considering a representative passage. For convenience I have chosen to look at part of chapter 12 of the KV, the same region of text discussed above where the KV refers to itself as being in verse. This corresponds to the central section of the ninth chapter of the GKV.

I have presented the two texts side by side, the GKV on the right. Where text in the KV is demonstrably not part of the most conservative text I have printed it in grey. Thus elements in the GKV whch correspond to grey text on the left show that the composer of the GKV was working with a developing KV, rather than the most conservative text. In general, as I showed in the broader comparison of the episode of the worms at Varanasi, the GKV omits complexities in the KV, expands the text considerably, and tends to add material which brings descriptions of progress along the path and so forth into line with its general understanding.

[67] It is listed in the 1882 catalogue of Mitra, but not in the 1917 catalogue of Śāstrī, and had probably left the ASB by 1917. I could not locate it in the ASB. [68] According to Buddhadev Bhattacarya Shastri, presently working on the Tibetan versions of the KV held in the ASB, Samasrami's source was a Fort William College manuscript but I have not been able to check this.

tatas avalokiteśvaras[69] teṣāṃ yakṣarākṣasānāṃ dharmaṃ deśayati sma[70]‖ śṛṇvantu bhavantaḥ ārya-[71] kāraṇḍavyūhasya mahāyānasūtraratnarājasya catuṣpādikām api gāthāṃ ye śroṣyanti | śrutvā ca[72] dhārayiṣyanti | vācayiṣyanti | paryavāpsyanti | pravartayiṣyanti |[73] yoniśaś ca manasikariṣyanti | teṣām idaṃ puṇyaskandhaṃ sañcodanam[74] anuttarāyāḥ samyaksaṃbodheḥ[75] bhaviṣyanti[76] ‖	**IX.48**. iti saṃprārthite taiḥ sa lokeśvaro jinātmajaḥ | tān yakṣān rākṣasān sarvān samalokyaivam ādiśat ‖ **49**. sādhu cittaṃ samādhāya śṛṇudhvaṃ yūyam ādarāt | kāraṇḍavyūham audārya sūtraṃ vakṣyāmi vo hite ‖ **50**. ye śroṣyanti mahāyānasūtrarājam idaṃ mudā | ye śrutvā dhārayiṣyanti vācayiṣyanti ye sadā[77] ‖ **51**. paryavāpsyanti ye cāpi likhiṣyanti ca ye tathā[78] | ye ca likhāpayiṣyanti bhāvayiṣyanti ye sadā ‖ **52**. ye ca pravartayiṣyanti śrāvayiṣyanti ye parān | anumodya sadā smṛtvā praṇatvā ye bhajanty api ‖ **53**. ye cāpi śraddhayā nityam arcayiṣyanti sarvadā | sādaraṃ ye ca satkṛtya mānayiṣyanti[79] sarvadā ‖ **54**. teṣām puṇyam asaṃkhyeyam aprameyaṃ mahattaram | sadguṇaśrīmahatsaukhyaṃ[80] saṃbuddhapadasādhanam ‖ **55**. sarvajñāḥ sugatāḥ[81] sarve munīndrā[82] api sarvadā | etatpuṇyapramāṇāni kartum naivābhiśaknuyuḥ ‖
tadyathāpi nāma kulaputrāḥ[83] śakyaṃ mayā paramāṇurajasāṃ pramāṇam[84] udgrahītum ‖ na tu kulaputrāḥ śakyaṃ mayā kāraṇḍavyūhasya mahāyānasūtrarājasya[85]puṇya-skandhaṃ gaṇayitum ‖	no corresponding passage.
tadyathāpi nāma kulaputrāḥ śakyaṃ mayā mahāsamudrasyaikaikam[86] udaka[87]binduṃ[88] gaṇayitum | na tu kulaputrāḥ śakyaṃ mayā kāraṇḍavyūhasya mahāyānasūtrarājasya catuṣpādikāyā[89] api gāthāyāḥ puṇyaskandhaṃ gaṇayitum ‖	no corresponding passage

[69] Sa *only* [70] C2 *only* [71] all but C1 [72] Sam only [73] all but C1 [74] saṃcadano C1 C2 [75] N1 only [76] bhavati C1 C2 [77] sadā: mudā N3 [78] tathā: sadā J [79] mānayiṣyanti: yānayiṣyanti C1 T [80] mahatsaukhyaṃ: mahasaukhyaṃ C1 [81] sarvajñāḥ sugatāḥ: sarvajñaḥ sugatāḥ N0 C1 T, sarvajñaḥ sugataḥ J N2, sarvajñaiḥ sugataiḥ N3 [82] sarve munīndrā: munindrām N1 munīndra C1 T sarva munīndra N2 sarvair munīndrair N3 [83] N1 D C1 C2 -putra inconsistently [84] paramāṇurajasya N1 D Sam [85] sūtra: –sūtrasya C1; catuṣpādikāyā gāthāyāḥ C2 *inserts, transposed from immediately below* [86] D samudra; Sam ekaṃ [87] udaka] *lacking* C2 [88] N1 -bindu [89] catuṣ . . . gāthāyāḥ] C2 *omits here*

tadyathāpi nāma kulaputrā dvādaśa gaṅgānadīvālukopamās tathāgatā arhantaḥ saṃyaksaṃbuddhā dvādaśakalpānekasthāne dhārayeyuś[90]cīvarapiṇḍapātra-śayanāśanaglānapratyayabhaiṣajya-pariṣkāraiḥ puṣpadhūpagandhamālyavilepana-cūrṇacīvarachhatradhvajaghaṇṭā-patākābhiḥ[91] || te 'pi[92] tathāgatāḥ sarve sahitā bhūtvā kāraṇḍavyūhasya mahāyānasūtrarājasya catuṣpādikāyā api gāthāyāḥ puṇyaskandhaṃ gaṇayitum na śaknuvanti sma[93] || prag evāham ekākī tamondhakāre bhūmau vihārāmi ||

no corresponding passage.

tadyathāpi nāma[94] kulaputrāś caturmahā[95]dvīpeṣu ekaikadvīpapramāṇam[96] gṛhaṃ vihāraṃ vā[97] kārayed[98] divyasuvarṇaratna[99]mayaṃ tatra gṛhe vihāre vā[100] stūpasahasraṃ kuryāt | teṣām caikadine dhātvāvaropaṇaṃ[101] kuryāt yac ca teṣāṃ dhātvāvaropaṇeṣu[102] pūjāyāṃ puṇyaskandham | tato bahutaraṃ asya[103] kāraṇḍavyūhasya mahāyānasūtra[104]ratnarājasya catuṣpādikāyā api gāthāyāḥ puṇyaskandham[105] ||

56. tadyathā ca caturdvīpa nivāsino 'pi mānavāḥ |
hemaratnamayaṃ stūpaṃ kuryur ekaikam ucchritam ||
57. teṣu stūpeṣu sarveṣu dhāturatnāvaropaṇam[106] |
kuryus te mānavāḥ sarve caturdvīpanivāsinaḥ ||
58. teṣāṃ yāvat[107] mahatpuṇya[108]skandham audārya sattamam |
tato 'dhikaṃ hi tatpuṇyaṃ kāraṇḍavyūhasūtrajam ||

[90] dhārayec N1, D (presumably G) [91] puṣpa–. . . śaknuvanti sma] satkuryāt G satkurvanti C1 [92] te 'pi] te ca G C2 D; C1 *lacking* (*thus C1 is more conservative than the Gilgit here*) [93] tathāgatāḥ . . . śaknuvanti sma] tathāgatāḥ puṇyaskandhaṃ gaṇayituṃ na śaknuvanti pramāṇam udgṛhītuṃ D *eyeskip from above?*; puṇyaskandham gaṇayitum na śaknuvanti C2 [94] This comparison in G is very different [95] all but C1 [96] C2 *omits* [97] C2 *omits* [98] kārayeyuḥ C1 [99] all but C1 [100] C1 *has only* vihāre [101] –dine. . . puṇyaskandham] –dine yaś ca dhātvāropanaṃ kuryāt | yaśca (C2*has* teṣāṃ *for* yaś ca) dhātvāropane puṇyaskandhaṃ C1 C2 ; G *has this phrase but omits* pūjāyāṃ. *on the term* dhātvāvaropaṇa *see* Regamey (1957: p.6) [102] *all mss.* dhātvāropaṇeṣu [103] *lacking altogether in* C1 C2 ; bahutaram asya G; bahutaram *all others* [104] –sūtrasya C1 [105] G *adds* varṇayāmi. . . [106] avaropaṇam: avaropam N0, avarohaṇam N3 [107] yāvat: yac ca N3 [108] puṇya: puṇyaṃ C1

tadyathāpi nāma kulaputrāḥ pañca mahānadyo sahasranadīparivārā[109] mahāsamudram upasaṃkrāmanti | evam eva kulaputrāḥ kāraṇḍavyūhasya[110] mahāyānasūtraratnarājasya puṇyaskandham[111] upasaṃkrāmati[112] ||	**59**. tadyathā ca mahānadyo[113] pañcapūrṇajalāvahāḥ[114] | sahasraparivārās tāḥ[115] saṃkramanti mahodadhiṃ[116] || **60**. evam eva mahatpuṇyaṃ kāraṇḍavyūhasūtrajam | śravaṇabhajanādīnāṃ[117] saṃprābhivahate[118] sadā ||
atha te yakṣarākṣasā avalokiteśvaram etad avocan || ye sattvāḥ kāraṇḍavyūhaṃ mahāyānasūtraratnarājaṃ likhāpayiṣyanti[119] | teṣām kīdṛśaṃ puṇyaskandhaṃ bhavati[120] || || sa āha[121] ||	**61**. evam etan mahat puṇyaṃ matvā yūyaṃ yadīcchatha | tyaktvā pāpamatiṃ sarve śṛṇute ’daṃ subhāṣitam[122] || **62**. śrutvānumodya satkṛtya mānayata[123] sadādarāt |[124] iti tena jagacchāstrā[125] samādiṣṭaṃ niśamya te || **63**. sarve te rākṣasā yakṣā muditāś cedam abruvan[126] | ye cāpīdaṃ mahāyāna[127] sūtrarājaṃ jagatprabhoḥ || **64**. likhāpayanti teṣāṃ syāt kiyat puṇyaṃ samādiśa | ity uktaṃ[128] taiḥ sa lokeśo bodhisattvo jinātmajaḥ || **65**. sarvān[129] tān muditān matvā samālokyaidam ādiśat |
aprameyaṃ te kulaputrāḥ puṇyaskandhaṃ prasravati[130] | ye sattvāḥ[131] kāraṇḍavyūhaṃ mahāyānasūtraratnarājaṃ likhāpayanti taiś[132]caturaśīti dharmaskandhasahasrāṇi likhāpitāni[133] bhavanti[134] | te[135] rājāno bhavanti[136] cakravartinaś caturdvīpeśvarā bhavanti || te[137] sahasraṃ putrāṇāṃ śūrāṇāṃ vīrāṇāṃ varāṅgarūpiṇāṃ parasainyapramardakāṇāṃ janayanti ||	(65cd) kulaputrā aprameyaṃ puṇyaṃ teṣāṃ prajāyate || **66**. likhantīdaṃ sūtrarājaṃ likhāpayanti ye ’pi ca | caturaśīti saddharma skandhasāhasrikāni[138] taiḥ || **67**. likhāpitāni sarvāṇi teṣāṃ puṇyaṃ mahattaram | rājānas te bhaviṣyanti nṛpendrāś cakravartinaḥ || **68**. dharmiṣṭhā[139] lokabhartāro vīrā dhīrā vicakṣaṇāḥ |

[109] *lacking* C1 C2 ; G *has* bahuparivārāḥ *after* mahāsamudram upasaṃkrāmanti [110] –vyūhamahā– C2 [111] sarvapuṇyaskandharāśīnī G [112] upasamkrāmanti N1 D Sam [113] mahānadyo: mahānadyāiḥ C1, mahānadyaiḥ T N0 [114] pañcapūrṇajalāvahāḥ: yā ca pūrṇajalāvahāḥ N2 [115] sahasraparivārās tāḥ: sahasraparivārāsmaḥ T [116] mahodadhiṃ: yathodadhiṃ N0 N1 C1 N2 N3 [117] –bhajanādīnāṃ: –bhanādīnāṃ C1 [118] saṃprābhivahate: saṃprāhivahate J, saṃpātaṃ sahate N3 [119] likhiṣyanti C1 likhāpayanti C2 [120] bhavati] yaḥ C1 [121] sa āha] *omitted in*C1; āha C2 ; *dialogue phrase beginning* athāvalokiteśvaro. . . G [122] subhāṣitam: subhaṣitam C1 T [123] mānayata: mānayeta C1 J N3 [124] N1 *inserts a half-verse here*:etatpuṇyābhiliptā hi bhaviṣyatha jinātmajāḥ [125] jagacchāstrā: jagacchāstā N3 [126] abruvan: akruvan N2 [127] mahāyāna: mahāyānaṃ N0 [128] ity uktaṃ: ity ukte N1 [129] sarvān: sarvāns N1 N0 [130] prasavanti C2 [131] *lacking in* C1 C2 [132] te C2 D [133] likhāpitā C2 [134] *compare also* ADS 18: ya idaṃ aparamitāyuḥ sūtraṃ likhiṣyati likhāpayiṣyati tena caturaśīti dharmaskandhasahasrāṇi likhāpitāni bhaviṣyati [135] *lacking in* C1 [136] bhaviṣyanti G [137] teṣāṃ C2 D [138] –sāhasrikāni: –sāhasritāni N2. [139] dharmiṣṭhā: dharmaṣṭhā C2 J T N2

ye satata[140]parigrahaṃ kāraṇḍavyūhasya[141] mahāyānasūtraratnarājasya nāmam[142] anusmaranti | mucyante[143] te īdṛśāt saṃsārikād duḥkhāt [144] | jātijāravyādhi[145]maraṇaśoka[146] paridevaduḥkhadaur[147]-manasyopāyāsāt[148] parimuktā bhavanti | yatra yatropapadyante tatra tatra jātau jātau[149] jātismarā bhavanti | teṣāṃ ca kāyāt[150] gośīrṣacandanagandho vāsyati[151] | nīlotpalagandhino[152] mukhā bhavanti | paripūrṇagātrāś ca bhavanti | mahānagnabalavega-samanvāgatāś[153] ca satpuruṣā[154]bhavanti |

(68cd) ye cāpyāsya mahāyāna sūtrarājasya sarvadā ||
69. nāmānusmaraṇaṃ kṛtvā bhajanti saṃprasāditāḥ |
te sarve bhavaduḥkhebhyo vimuktā vimalāśayāḥ ||
70. niḥkleśāḥ paripūrṇāṅgāḥ sugandhimukhavāsinaḥ |
candanagandhitāṅgāś ca suvīryabalaveginaḥ ||
71. jātismarāś ca dharmiṣṭhā bhaveyuḥ śriguṇāśrayāḥ |
evaṃ matvā mahat puṇyaṃ ye 'py etadguṇam icchatha[155] ||
72. viramya kleśasaṃgebhyaḥ pariśuddhāśayā mudā |
etat kāraṇḍavyūhasya sūtrarājasya sarvadā ||
73. nāmānusmaraṇaṃ dhṛtvā bhajata śraddhayādarāt |
tato yūyaṃ vinirmuktā bhavakléśātiduḥkhataḥ[156] ||
74. niḥkleśā vimalātmānaḥ sukhāvatīṃ gamiṣyatha |
tatrāmitābhanāthasya pītvā dharmāmṛtaṃ sadā ||

[140] C1 śatata [141] –vyūhamahā– C2 [142] nāmadheyam C2; nāmām N1; nāmā– D [143] te *transposed to before* mucyante C1; C2 *omits* mucyante *here* [144] īdṛśāt. . . duḥkhāt] *lacking in* G; itaḥ saṃsārikāt C1 ; itaḥ saṃsārikād duḥkhāt parimucyante C2 ; N1 *has* . . . saṃsārān . . . [145] *all* (*inc.* G) *but* C1; C2 *has* jātivyādhijarā [146] –sauka– N1 [147] –daumanas– N1 [148] -upāyāsā N1 Sam ; manasyāyāsā D [149] upapadyante . . . jātau] *lacking in* C1; C2 and D *have all but* jātau jātau. *compare* ADS 17: yatra yatra janmany upapadyat tatra tatra sarvatra jātau jātau jatismaro bhaviṣyati | [150] kāye C2 [151] –gandhir bhavati C1; –gandhā bhavanti C2 [152] nīlotpala . . . bhavanti] nīlotpalamukhādbhāti C1 [153] mahānāgabalavegasamanvāgataś C1 N1 D; mahānagnā aparimāṇapuṇyabalasamanvāgatāś Sam. *On the term* mahānagna *see* Regamey (1957: 9). [154] Sam only
[155] icchatha: icchatā J, īcchatha N2 [156] –duḥkhataḥ: –duḥkhatāḥ C1

na[157] kadācit yakṣatvaṃ na rākṣasatvaṃ na pretatvaṃ na piśācatvaṃ na pūtanātvaṃ na kaṭapūtanātvaṃ na manuṣyadāridryaṃ pratyanubhaviṣyanti | gaṅgānadīvālukāsamānāṃ buddhānāṃ bhagavatāṃ sevāpuṇyaskandhena samanvāgatā bhaviṣyanti | ye 'pi kecit kulaputrāḥ sattvā asmāt kāraṇḍavyūhamahāyānasūtraratna-rājād ekākṣaram api nāmadheyam api catuṣpadikām api gāthāṃ likhāpiṣyanti teṣāṃ pañcānantaryāṇi karmāṇi niravaśeṣaṃ parikṣayaṃ gamiṣyanti[158] | te cābhirūpā bhaviṣyanti | prāsādikā bhaviṣyanti | darśanīyāśca bhaviṣyanti | bahujanapriyamanāpadarśanena ca bhaviṣyanti | teṣāṃ na kaścit kāye vyādhiḥ prabhaviṣyati | na cakṣurogaṃ na śrotrarogaṃ na ghrāṇarogaṃ na jihvārogaṃ na kāyarogam | na hīnāṅgāni bhaviṣyanti | na pratyantikeṣu janapadeṣu pratyājāyante | na mlaccheṣu na pāpakuleṣu noribhrikeṣu[159] na kaukkuṭikeṣu na jatyeṣu[160] pratyājāyante | supariśuddhakāyāś ca te satpuruṣā bhaviṣyanti‖	No corresponding passage

[157] This entire section Sam only [158] *compare* ADS 20: *ya idaṃ aparamitāyuḥ sūtraṃ likhiṣyati likhāpayiṣyati tasya pañcānantaryāni karmāvaraṇāni parikṣayaṃ gacchanti* | [159] *So in* Sam. *Richard Gombrich suggests* naura– [160] *As printed in* Sam., *but there marked with '?'*

atha avalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattva[161] evaṃ[162] teṣām yakṣarākṣasānāṃ tamondhakāravāsināṃ sarveṣāṃ ca[163] anulomikāṃ[164] dharmadeśanāṃ kṛtvā[165] | atha[166] te ca[167] yakṣarākṣasāḥ tāṃ dharmadeśanāṃ śubhāṃ śrutvā ke cit srotaāpatiphale pratiṣṭhitāḥ [168] ke cit sakṛdāgāmiphale[169] pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ[170] ke cid[171] anāgamiphale[172] ke cid arhatve ke cit prabhutvabodhau[173] pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ ||

75. bodhicaryāvrataṃ prāpya bhaviṣyatha[174] jinātmajāḥ |
tataḥ sattvahitādhāna śrīsaṃpatsadguṇāśrayāḥ[175] ||
76. sarvasattvahitaṃ kṛtvā saṃbuddhapadam āpsyatha |
iti satyaṃ parijñāya śuddhāśayā jitendrīyāḥ[176] ||
77. triratnabhajanaṃ kṛtvā bhajate tat subhāṣitaṃ |
iti taduktaṃ ākarṇya sarve te yakṣā[177] rākṣasā ||
78. prabodhitā mahotsahaiś caranty evaṃ samādarāt |
tataḥ ke cid bhavanty etad dharmaśraddhānusāriṇaḥ ||
79. ke cic ca śrotaāpannā sakṛdāgamino pare[178] |
anye 'nāgaminaḥ[179] ke cid bhavanti bodhisādhane ||

Conclusions Looking at this block of text, several features stand out.

IX.56–8 The term *ratna*, picked up by the GKV, is absent from the earliest versions of the KV (C1 and G).

IX.79 *śrota-āpannāḥ* in the GKV is parallel to the *srota-āpattiphale* of the longest KV, a term absent from all of the more conservative manuscripts I surveyed (C1 C2 D N1, also G).

IX.50 *śrutvā ca* in the GKV is shared only with Samasrami's text.

IX.54 *saṃbuddhapadam* in the GKV parallels the *anuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodheḥ* of N1, lacking in other versions.

KV: apotropaic benefits The longest version of the KV proposes a series of disease-related benefits which the GKV could reasonably be expected to have taken up, but didn't. The passage would have fallen after IX.75 if it had been adapted.

From these data, it is possible to conclude that the GKV was compiled on the basis of a KV recension sharing features of both N1 and the Samasrami text, but more conservative than the Samasrami text. This should be qualified somewhat, as it may infer too much from the available evidence. Standard lists, such as *srota-āpanna, sakṛdāgamin, anāgamin* are widely distributed in Buddhist Sanskrit literature, and the insertion of *srota-āpanna* in the GKV may simply be the work of a redactor who knew his lists. This is almost certainly the reason for the occurrence of the term in longer recensions of the KV, and its presence in the GKV is therefore not evidence of dependence on any particular version of the KV, although it is suggestive. The term *saṃbuddhapadam* occurs frequently in the GKV and its presence here is not at all distinctive. The presence of the term *ratna* carries a little more weight. Taken together, such details do suggest that the GKV was composed with a KV that was more like the Samsarami text than most of the surviving versions.

[161] Sam only [162] *all* (*inc.* G) *but* C1 [163] Sam only [164] anulaumikī C1 [165] C1 D N1 kṛtā; kṛtvā viharati sma C2; kṛtavān Sam [166] C1 C2 D *only* [167] N1 only [168] Sam only [169] –phalaṃ C2 [170] C2 D *omit* [171] ke cid anāgami . . . –pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ] C1 *omits entirely* [172] anāgamiphalaṃ pratiṣṭhitāḥ C2 [173] Sam only [174] bhaviṣyatha: bhajiṣyatha C1 [175] śrīsaṃpat–: śrīsamvat– N1 [176] jitendrīyāḥ: jitendrīyaḥ N2 [177] yakṣā rākṣasā: yakṣarāsā C1, yakṣarākṣasā J N2 [178] pare: vare N2 [179] anye 'nāgaminaḥ: anāgaminaḥ C1 N2, anāgaminaś ca N3

On the other hand, the absence of a list of disease-releated benefits in the GKV is striking. Compared with some of the other passages in the KV which lack parallels in the GKV, this stands out, especially given the known association of the GKV with the cult of Amoghapāśa, who is responsible for (the removal of) various diseases.[180] The entire last chapter of the GKV is concerned specifically with the benefits, personal, familial and political, which accrue from the ritual use of the GKV. Thus to find a passage in the KV listing the apotropaic benefits of the text which has no parallel in the GKV is striking.

Finally, the existence of close parallels in the KV to portions of the *Amitāyur Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (ADS) may have been recognized by the redactor of the longest version. The KV here contains close parallels to ADS 17 and 18; but the Samasrami text includes a third close parallel to ADS 20 otherwise lacking. Unless we propose that the Samasrami text is unusually conservative in preserving this passage, which I think is improbable given the textual evidence, we are left with the sense that the redactor responsible for the Samasrami text was well-versed in Sanskrit Buddhist literature and keen to produce a version of the KV which was consistent with other important recited texts.[181]

The coherence of the GKV, when compared to the development of the KV in Nepal, is remarkable. The early palm-leaf manuscript C1 is remarkably consistent with the Gilgit text as Mette presents it, yet the rest of the manuscript tradition shows a great deal of variation. There probably were other transmissions contemporary with C1, yet even so the range of variation in subsequent manuscripts is quite broad. In contrast, the GKV has only a few errors and no obvious insertions or additions. The KV tradition appears to have evolved considerably over the 700 years or so since C1, and continued to enjoy redaction and expansion even after the GKV had been composed. Although modern Newar sources have described the GKV as a reworking of the KV for a mediæval Nepalese audience, there was apparently still some pressure on the KV to develop. In other words, what emerges from even a cursory comparison of the GKV and the manuscript tradition of the KV is as much to do with the changes wrought on the KV after the GKV, as it is to do with the possible form of the KV that the compilers of the GKV had before them. The Vajrayāna scholars of Malla Nepal, not content with creating an entire genre of verse adaptations of their most respected sūtras, also set about expanding and modifying those sūtras as well.

[180] See the *Amoghapāśahṛdaya* (Meisezahl 1962) for a long list of diseases which he averts — while the list is not parallel to that which we find here, it is similar. [181] I suspect the relationship between the two texts is more intimate than is usually recognized; this chapter of the KV is a teaching directed to yakṣas and rākṣasas, while verse 22 of the ADS promises the benefit of not being reborn as a yakṣa or rākṣasa, a clear reference to the earlier text. If I am right to think that the Samasrami text's redactor had the ADS in mind, this would be a case of reciprocal influence between the two texts over time.

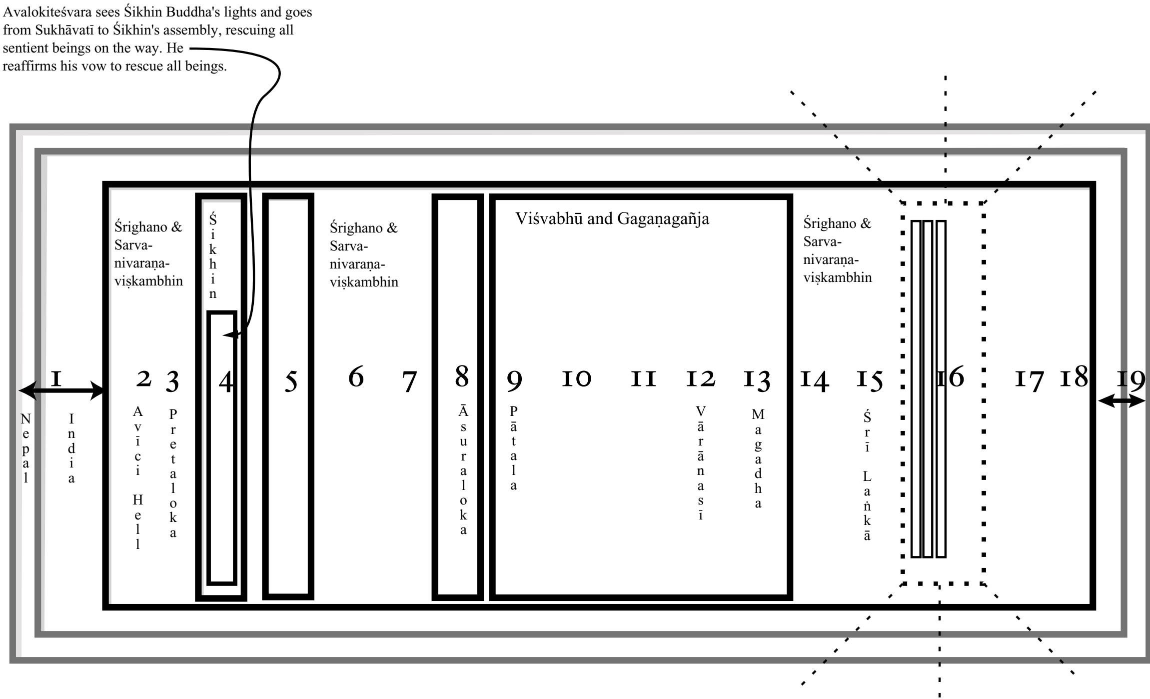


Figure 2.4: Partial map of the narrative frame structure of the GKV

Chapter 3

Authority and Insecurity

"And I, being personally a stranger to you, how can you have confidence in me?"
"Because," knowingly smiled the good merchant, "if you were other than I have confidence that you are, hardly would you challenge distrust that way."
"But you have not examined my book."

Melville, *The Confidence Man*

Why would confusion between the fifteenth-century Nepalese *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* and the fifth- or fourth-century *Kāraṇḍavyūha* have been desirable to its compilers, and indeed, to the subsequent tradition? A sort of ploy emerges, one which took most Western scholars completely unawares, whereby the separate identity of the GKV was systematically masked not just by Amṛtānanda, but also apparently by the original compilers of the GKV. I propose that this disguise, if you will, should be seen as part of a general strategy for authorizing a new Buddhist sūtra. Indeed, the GKV as a literary work employs a wide range of devices to validate itself. It makes claims to lineage authority descending from the historically potent king/monk pair of Aśoka and Upagupta in its penultimate frame and from the past Buddha Viśvabhū, who explains its composition in the seventh chapter; it cites the most famous Mahāyāna devotional work, the BCA; and it presents itself as the natural extension of a great Mahāyāna sūtra, the KV. This insecurity, if I may call it that, is an old problem in Buddhist studies generally, and has usually been discussed under the rubric of authority or canonicity.

Several elements of the GKV play a part in this strategy:

- The verse form of the GKV
- Its narrative line, transparently derived from the KV
- The recourse to authority proper to that narrative structure itself
- The new framing narrative which brackets and transforms the structure inherited from the KV
- The consistently ambiguous differentiation of the GKV from the KV
- The extensive borrowing and reworking of material from the BCA

The project of this chapter is twofold: to describe the workings of this strategy and then to consider this strategy as a characteristic feature of Nepalese Buddhism which can be brought into comparison

with other similar strategies, such as the rNying.ma.pa *gTer.ma/gTer.ton* tradition, the introduction of Mahāyāna sūtras such as the KV itself, and the production of apocryphal materials (e.g., in Chinese Buddhism). This should suggest ways in which the theoretical account of canonicity and authority can be criticized and refined.

3.1 Discussions of 'canon' to date

3.1.1 Closed and less closed canons

Steve Collins, in his careful study of the Pāli Canon, distinguishes between two notions of canon.

> The word 'canon', in relation to textual materials, can usefully be taken in two ways: first, in a general sense, as an equivalent to 'scripture' (oral or written). Used in this way, the term does not specify that the collection of texts so designated constitutes a closed list; it merely assigns a certain authority to them, without excluding the possibility that others could be, or may come to be included in the collection. In the second sense, however, the idea of a 'canon' contains precisely such an exclusivist specification that it is *this* closed list of texts, *and no others*, which are the 'foundational documents'. The existence of some sort of scriptural or canonical materials in the non-specific, inclusivist sense is surely a necessary condition for a religion to be or have what anthropologists used to call a 'Great Tradition'. But the existence of a canon in the second, exclusivist sense is, on the contrary, a non-universal and contingent feature, dependent on the specific history of a given milieu which produces the selection and redaction of such a closed list. When compared with other extant collections of scriptures in Buddhism, I think the Pali canon is unique in being an exclusive, closed list. (Collins 1990: 90-1)

In proposing this distinction between open and closed canons, Collins touches on several highly relevant issues: the oral/written divide; the relation of a canon to the idea of a 'Great Tradition'; the material and historical factors influencing canon formation and regulation; and the unspecificity of an 'open' canon. The issues themselves are astutely recognized, but as with all such groundbreaking essays, his treatment can be criticized. Collins himself has gone on to write much more on various of these topics, but I would like to use this passage as my own starting point, taking up each of these points and then looking at other writers considering the same problems.

Open canons?

This distinction makes one ask what an open canon would be like. Closed canons, as Collins defines them, are a feature not just of Pāli Buddhism but of many other religions as well. Perhaps the most striking example are the seven texts of Manicheaeism, to which we will return below. The closed canons of the various forms of Christianity have been arrived at through the exercise of wealth and influence, as much as through scholarly endeavour; and specific formulations, such as the King James Bible, are intricately bound up with specific national identities. An open canon, though, would apparently simply cohere in the absence of political or economic power: no priesthood or literate class would maintain it, no money would go towards its reproduction. Its member texts would have authority, but not through the usual means whereby authority is invested in cultural entities.

This is clearly a noncategory. Rather, it seems that what we have are canons which are to a greater or lesser degree closed, and which to a greater or lesser degree exchange authority with powerful institutions. What Collins calls open canons are simply permeable, ragged canons; but there is no ideal of an open canon in play.

Concentric canons

There may well be different definitions of the canon in a particular religious community at a particular time. If these are strictly concentric, then there is no problem with canonical closure, however tightly it has been achieved. By concentric, I simply mean that one list is a subset of the other, larger, and quite probably less well defined canonical list. A straightforward example of this is the *navadharma* or *navagrantha* of Newar Buddhism, the 'Nine Books'. This is a list of nine texts which are used to build a simple maṇḍala representing the Dharma Jewel.[1] The central text of the nine, the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, is the Mahāyāna text most closely identified with textuality and the textual embodiment of the *śāsana*. Thus the *navadharma* is a very small canon-within-a-canon, with the interesting property that it stands in for the rather poorly closed enveloping canon when it is ritually necessary to manipulate or display the canon as a whole.

3.1.2 Canonicity as a social structure

The challenge for a new text, then, is to achieve canonical authority; and it is of course in the interest of any text which is on its way to achieving canonical status to further emphasize the selective, authoritative status of the canon to which it has (successfully) aspired. The situation is not unlike that of the second generation of a family or social grouping that has successfully moved up a rung in the social ladder complaining about others also aspiring to some upward mobility. This is well documented in the *jāti* system, where a particular *jāti* that has recently re-determined itself in the *varṇa* hierarchy or the ritual hierarchy of food and water exchanges may well be especially hostile to other *jāti*s who had been their near peers. D. Quigley, discussing the complex category of the Newar Śreṣṭhas, writes

> Śreṣṭhas are endlessly fragmented. There is continual dispute about whether particular families, or particular lineages, merit the status of Śreṣṭha at all, and among those that do, what 'quality' of Śreṣṭha they are—aristocratic, commoner, *nouveau-arrivé*, fallen, or pretender. (Quigley 1995: 80)

Certainly the accusation of 'pretender' is constitutive of the category of canon; without it, no text would fail to be canonical.

Can this analogy between a social grouping and a book be usefully extended? While a text is not comprised of persons in the way a *jāti* is, nonetheless it is a cognitive structure which is constituted and prospers through similar social processes: ascription of status by self, by allied groups, and by outsiders; by attracting patronage, such as being copied out or inserted into recitation rituals; and by actions which confer status by implication, such as being cited in an important compendium, or becoming the object of the particular devotion of a powerful royal or religious figure. In a more abstract sense, the logical relation between 'manuscript' and 'book' is rather similar to that between a person and their *jāti*, for however faulty any one manuscript may be in its textual transmission, if it is recognized as a valid copy of its exemplar, then it acquires the right to be used in any ritual where any other manuscript of the same work can be used.

Viewed in this light, the existence of rituals which 'finish' the copying out of a manuscript makes considerable sense. In fact, among the Newar Buddhists there is a ritual akin to the *pratiṣṭhā* ritual used on sacred icons and figures, but specifically for manuscripts. In theory it can only be used on manuscripts of books in the closed set of the Nine Dharmas. I have, however, seen manuscripts of Vajrayāna tantras not in that list which have had this ritual quickening performed upon them.

In any case, it is clear that attaining canonical status is not simply a scholars' game in which the text is a movable but passive piece. Claims of ritual suitability within a text, such as those in

[1] It is not, however, a stable list. As we will see at 4.2.3, the list of nine texts changes between the 14th and 18th centuries.

the KV and GKV; ritual employment of a text; the patronage of important figures; and accusations of pretension and apocryphal status are part of a social dynamic of legitimation which confers (or denies) membership in a more or less closed canon, a canon itself constituted precisely through this fractious process repeated over and over again for different texts. The authority which comes with successfully attaining recognition as canonical within some sufficiently large social sphere is also constituted in this way, as a kind of institutional authority.

Authority?

We might then ask what is meant by authority here. No *nirukti* can help us, for at least in Indian religious literature one of the surest signs of an authoritative text is the denial of the existence of its author. The Vedas are the prime example, but the entire tradition of śāstric argument through commentary depends on suppressing the writer's own presence in order to win authority for his arguments, often at the expense of the apparent intended meaning of the text which forms an excuse for the commentary. Certainly none of the Mahāyāna sūtras which concern us here have, or want to have, an identifiable historical author. This is also a general feature of Sanskrit Buddhist scholastic literature: root texts by famous human authors attracted falsely attributed commentaries and commentaries attributed to the author of the original text. Examples include the Bhavya commentary to Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamādhyamika Kārikāḥ* and the supposed autocommentary of Atīśa on his *Bodhipathapradīpa*. Yet the earliest Buddhist literature should ideally be the speech of Śākyamuni Buddha. Subsequent sūtras, and especially the Mahāyāna literature, sought to be recognized as *buddhavacana*, the words of (a/the) Buddha, and arguably for Buddhist texts that is the best emic definition of 'authoritative': *buddhavacana*. Because there was innovation and change in the religion, and new texts were written, a body of theory developed within Buddhism that was concerned precisely with the authority of narratives, theoretical statements and whole texts.[2] This does not, however, help us understand how authority is achieved, ascribed or maintained in an individual text or genre. I will return to look at how textual authority is achieved by the GKV below, but it is clear that one crucial link between authoritative institutions and the perception of authority in Buddhism is lineage. Successfully asserting membership in a lineage tradition stretching back to a Buddha is the same as showing the continuity of *śāsana*. This is the function of the opening passage of so many Mahāyāna sūtras: first there is the *evaṃ mayā śrutam*, "thus I have heard", followed by an inevitable exercise in setting the stage. A Buddha, often Śākyamuni, was teaching in such and such a place, surrounded by (1) great numbers of divine and semidivine figures, (2) members of the fourfold saṅgha and (3) Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The last reinforces the authority established by the fact that it is a Buddha teaching; the middle locates the reader/listener; and the first lends majesty and may demonstrate patronage from the wealthy or powerful.

As Collins and others see authority as derived from canonical status, it will be useful to consider the distinction between institutional and charismatic authority. Authority derived from a canon is clearly institutional authority, and to the extent that a text wishes to derive authority from member-

[2] See the essays in Lopez (1988) for an introduction to this literature. The fit between the Buddhist theories concerned with textual authority and the modern Western discipline of hermeneutics is remarkably good. Hermeneutics, a discipline best known from the religious reading of scriptural texts, generally is concerned with the recovery of certain kinds of especially luminous truth in perilous situations of historical distance or textual obscurity; even the use of hermeneutics as a reading strategy in secular reading of historical materials presumes an original luminosity of that which once was present at the same time that it acknowledges that this luminosity is always already lost. Hermeneutics as a method requires a 'something wonderful' which is in need of recovery — that is, it *hypostatizes* the meaning before its recovery — and this has not, I think, been adequately digested by secular spokespeople for the discipline such as Frank Kermode. Another way of thinking about this is that hermeneutics can either fail to retrieve a lost meaning or succeed in retrieving it, but it will never retrieve a banal meaning.

ship in some canon, it will of course also wish to emphasize the authoritative nature of that canon. So far, this follows the model I have proposed just above. The Indic tradition does not usually put forward the other sort of claim to authority, at least in its texts. The denial of authorship in the Vedic tradition, or the constant reversion to *buddhavacana* in the Buddhist, are denials of charisma; real skill lies in submerging one's own identity so successfully that only the tradition, albeit perhaps suitably reinterpreted, remains. Where *śāsana* refers to lineage rather than to tradition, there is room for a sense of charisma; but this claim to charismatic authority would have been made outside the written text, in the ritualized transmission of the text for study and teaching.

Great traditions

Collins links the existence of at least an open canon to the notion of a Great Tradition. Brinkhaus,[3] too, invoked the notion of a Great Tradition in his study of the SvP; but while this concept as originally elaborated by the Chicago school was intended to be useful cross-culturally, in its present form (and limitations) it is closely tied to studies of the Indian subcontinent and especially the tension between Sanskrit and vernacular cultures. In fact it is more fruitful to consider canonicity among the textual religions worldwide. A tense geometry of revelation, tradition, authority and translation also occurs, for example, in the case of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, a renaissance English visionary tract which sought to pass itself off as a translation from Greek of an otherwise unknown work of the late Hellenistic Christian Neoplatonist, Dionysius the Areopagite.

The ideal of closure (and its correlate, apocrypha) is equally evident on the world stage. Mani, the founder and root prophet of Manichaeism, specified precisely which eight works were to form the canon for his religion — seven written texts and a book of his paintings, showing that religious canonicity is not limited to texts. Nonetheless Manichaeism developed the extremely effective strategy in Central and East Asia of promulgating itself through written texts which looked very much as though they belonged to other religions. These apocryphal works, insofar as they succeeded to canonical status in the host religion, subverted the traditions into which they had been accepted. A good example of this pattern is the 8th century Chinese *Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light* edited in Haloun and Henning (1952). The Manichaeans also directed their syncretic tactics towards Taoism; there is evidence from the 12th century both for purges directed against Taoist-Manichaean syncretic cults and texts, and for the survival of such cults. For a canon struggling towards ideal closure, even apocrypha may be systematized and set into a fixed relation with the canon, as witness the canonified apocrypha included in some editions of the Christian Bible.

Oral/written/printed

Collins sets aside the question of whether a canon is oral or written. An oral canon and a written canon are not the same. The distinction between oral and written, as we shall see, conditions the style and form of the content of scriptural materials. The kinds of institution required for the simple transmission of texts, the means of achieving authority and the ways in which closure can be enforced all differ significantly, so much so that the very notion of closure is different depending on whether the canon is written or oral. This is the point of Richard Gombrich's essay on possible origins of the Mahāyāna (Gombrich 1990a): the advent of writing as a means of preserving the (canonical) scriptures meant the rigorous error-correction systems required to maintain an oral closed canon were lost, offering an opportunity for the insertion of new passages, and indeed, whole apocrypha.

While Gombrich's (1990b) remarks about the unimportance of metre as a marker of canonicity in oral scripture are exceedingly useful, they are less so for the Mahāyāna. Gombrich notes that

[3] Brinkhaus (1993), considered at 2.1.1 on page 33.

> Since there were religious texts being preserved in the Buddha's environment in both prose and verse, there seems to be no *a priori* ground for holding that Buddhist prose must be older than Buddhist verse or vice versa. (p. 8)

However, it is still a widely held hypothesis that the metric portions of the early Mahāyāna texts, such as the Lotus Sutra or the Gaṇḍavyūha Sutra, are usually older than their prose paraphrases. As we have already seen, too wide an application of this principle by Victorian scholars led to the false belief that the GKV was older than the KV. This belief, or some similar belief awarding priority to verse texts, was apparently also current within the community which compiled the KV, leading to the claim that it was in four-part verses.[4] Thus by the time of the composition of the later Mahāyāna scriptures, about the 4th century of the common era, simply being in verse had become a recognized indicator of canonical authority. Was this belief part of a larger claim that all the canonical materials had originally been in verse? Probably not; the Buddhist scholars of the Gupta period would have been just as capable of recognizing that much of the oldest material is prose. Yet Gombrich's concept of error-correcting systems provides a reason why the compilers of the KV might have thought a verse text more authentic: the defenders of a verse text could claim that it was less prone to modification. So far as I know, however, there are no known instances of more recent Buddhist texts being composed in deliberately archaic metres.

Printing

The distinction between printed book and manuscript is as important for an historical understanding of canon formation as the more often discussed divide between oral and written. Although there was no significant indigenous print industry or technology in Nepal before the 20th century, printing in Tibet and China became fundamental to the constitution and control of any canon between the 10th and 15th centuries.[5] The development of xylograph printing ensured that a standard book or series of books could be produced again and again. Certainly the realization of a canon in Tibet, or rather, one of the various acts of composing and promulgating a version of the canon, included the drawing up of a catalogue (the *dKar.chag*) as well as the carving of the blocks from which prints of the canon were drawn. In fact, the catalogue does not always adequately describe (or successfully prescribe) the contents of a printed canon.[6] Outside of the Buddhist tradition one need only consider the close and highly political bond between the Protestant Reformation and the development and use of printing technology. The fragility of a written tradition is apparent, too, in the loss of most of the Indian Syriac Christian textual tradition. This was destroyed by the Portuguese Catholics in the first years of renewed contact between the Malabar and Roman traditions; the existence of a liturgy which could possibly compete with the Latin for authority was intolerable.[7]

Of course, the print/manuscript divide emerges well after the closure of the Pāli canon or the advent of the Mahāyāna scriptures. Nonetheless, a comparison between the three distinct means of preserving canonical materials suggests that the strict closure which was required in order to preserve an oral canon, on the one hand, and the *de facto* standardization afforded by master plates or blocks in

[4] See 2.3 on page 51. [5] Printing of religious texts, usually spells, for magical purposes dates back to at least the 7th century in East Asia, with the first edition of the Chinese canon in the 10th century. The first definite instance of a Tibetan text block printed for the sake of its content would appear to be the *Tshad.ma.rigs.pa'i.gter* of Sa.skya Paṇḍita, completed by 1300 at the latest, on which see Kuijp (1983). The original sNar.thang bKa'.'gyur is said to have been hand written between 1312-30; a different redaction was printed on wood blocks in Peking in 1411. This follows the general comment in van der Kuijp that printing, even for the Tibetans, developed first in the Mongol court and only subsequently spread into Tibet proper. [6] See for example Eimer (1993: pp.v-vi), where the faults both of the dKar.chag for the Phug.brag bKa' 'gyur and its modern descriptive catalogue are considered. [7] This at least is the opinion of the surviving Syriac Christians as expressed to me by Father Jose Nandhikkara.

a printed canon, on the other, hold a much less easily fixed written medium between them. While the disputants arguing about Buddhist canonicity all concede that the Indian Buddhist canon was less closed, it is usually assumed that this is due to a lack of central authority. In fact, among the three historical stages of oral, written and printed, the oral and printed stages lend themselves to control mechanisms or at least to standardization far better than a tradition depending on tens of thousands of scribes and individual acts of manuscript recopying.[8]

As it happens, a printed canon is only just now developing among the Newar Buddhists. There are, as mentioned above, a handful of systematic programmes to produce easily accessible editions of the major Buddhist scriptures in the vernacular Newari or Nepali. The historical context for this development is too complex to consider here, but it is closely dependent on the ideology of vernacular printing and Protestantism which the Mahābodhi Society embodies.[9] While these developments are far later than the period of this study, it is some sort of confirmation of the status of the GKV that it has been printed, along with much of the *navagrantha* and the BCA, but the KV has not yet been translated into Newari or printed.

3.1.3 Authority against canonicity

Discussions of canonicity in Buddhism have recently centred on two historical moments: the formation and purification of the Chinese canon, and the authorization strategies of the Treasure tradition in the rNying.ma school of Tibetan Buddhism. In both cases, translation from the original language(s) is a given, and the identification of original sources is a norm against which apocryphal or revelatory material is tested. The conservative position holds that in order for a text to be included in the canon it must be a translation of a pre-existing text which had such authority.

In the literary traditions of the rNying.ma.pas,[10] two different responses are put forward. On the one hand, the rNying.ma.pa scholars try to show that such demonstrably old texts as the *Guhyagarbha* do indeed have Sanskrit originals, and have even questioned the revision of existing translations.[11] Thus 'O.rgyan.pa (1230-1309), arguing against the position put forward by "some Tibetan translators" that "the Nyingma translations had no origin in India", argues first that it is impossible to know all the texts in India, and consequently that it would be impossible to know which had come to Tibet; then, taking the opposite tack, that because manuscripts decay quickly in India, the argument from the absence of a manuscript is not convincing; and finally that

> Furthermore, in later times original Sanskrit manuscripts were mostly preserved in Nepal. Among them, an inconceivable number of different Nyingma tantras were

[8] As we have already seen, these three historical stages (oral, written and printed) do not proceed in a simple sequence; all three mechanisms may be used at the same time in the same religious community for different kinds of materials or ritual contexts. Moreover since at least 1980 we must also consider the properties of digital storage, which has for instance the features that (1) indeces are supplemented by fast, crude searching tools and (2) the tremendous costs incurred in using it are not, at least so far, rewarded by stable storage. Storage media are obsoleted about every 10 years, and this is only being overcome through large-scale networking. Thus it is networked digital storage which appears to be the genuinely new medium, rather than digital storage *per se*.

[9] Briefly, the Newar Vajrayāna impetus to print arose together with (and in competition with) the Newar language movement, itself motivated by the first Newar Theravāda monks, who were heavily influenced by the Mahābodhi Society in the 1920s. Thus, whereas it might seem that the Newar case is a proof of a general Protestant theory of the relation of print to the promulgation of scripture in the vernacular, in fact it is an effect of the spread of that theory as an ideology.

[10] I am not here concerned with the related Treasure traditions of the Bon.po school, as they do not stand or wish to stand in the same relation to Indian precursors to derive their authority.

[11] So Rong.dzom, cited in Rimpoche et al. 1991: 890.

> preserved in one of the temples of a Newari *bahal*.[12] (Rimpoche et al. 1991: 891)

On the other hand, the rNying.ma Treasure tradition, which consists in revelation of materials that have been concealed by Padmasambhava until the appropriate moment for their rediscovery, is defended in more ambiguous terms which both accept the importance of canonical status and reject it. This point is made acute by Janet Gyatso.

> But even more, the discoverers claim distinction *within* the venerable tradition with which they are associating themselves. The claim is not merely, 'I have a sacred esoteric scripture that is just as powerful as the sacred Buddhist sūtras and tantras that we already have in our canon.' It is also that this scripture has been obtained in a manner more impressive than the conventional method of transmitting sacred Buddhist texts, that is, from master to disciple in the 'long transmission.' (Gyatso 1998: p.150)

The Treasure tradition defends itself as a whole by producing Indian precedents for the entire process of treasure recovery itself: discovery of new material which nonetheless has the status of *buddhavacana*. Perhaps the best known example of this sort of material is the five Maitreya texts which were taught to Asaṅga, and which he made available along with his commentaries on them. Yet there is also a sense in which the very non-Indian-ness of the Treasure texts adds to their legitimacy:

> The explicit role that the Treasure tradition granted to historical Tibetan persons leads to a second fount from which the discoverers drew self-legitimation. Interestingly this fount produces a kind of legitimation that is in direct opposition to that afforded by affiliation with Indian scriptural practices. I am referring to the *indigenously Tibetan* factors in Treasure transmission, of which the spotlighting of a historical Tibetan person is but one example. The force of these factors is not usually made explicit—probably for the same reasons that the Treasure apologists had to focus on their Indic precedents. But even if an important Treasure theorist has argued that it is wrong to value the Treasures simply because they represent the practice of one's ancestors— the fault of 'accepting one's father's cup as clean'—the fact is that the Treasure discoverers appropriated to their person the power and glory of ancient Tibetan civilization as much as that of Indian Buddhism. (Gyatso 1998: 151)

Power and canonicity

Rob Mayer, in an extended discussion of the problem of canonicity in relation to the rNying.ma tradition, concludes that canonical closure only happens when there is the political will and power to force closure. In his summarizing list of the factors influencing closure, the first three items are

> (*a*) in each missionised Buddhist cultural region, initially the canonical collections were *de facto* open, along the Indian model, where fresh scriptural revelation never ceased;
> (*b*) subsequent attempts to select and close the canon invariably involved political factors;
> (*c*) actual canonical closure could only be achieved where there existed sufficient intervention from a political state, effective repression. (Mayer 1996: 20)

[12] It is not impossible that among the many monasteries of Nepal, some fostered affiliations to specific lineages of Tibetan visiting scholars. While there are as yet insufficient historical data about the foundations—as opposed to the teachers—which Tibetan scholars patronized in Nepal, it is still the case that the various monasteries have different tutelary and secret deities. Nowadays Cakrasaṃvara is much the most common, but there was probably more variety in the mediæval period.

Mayer is elaborating a general theory of the relation between power and canonical closure following the similar proposal in Collins (1990). However, he has in mind the particular problem of the rNying.ma texts and the challenges to their authenticity in Tibet. He draws on Harrison (1994), who says

> from the very beginnings of Buddhism in Tibet, the quest for the standardized and authoritative text or collection of texts has been driven by the struggle for prestige, power and hegemony, as much as by more scholarly imperatives.

Harrison's position clearly supports Mayer's *b*, but does not necessarily support *c*. This further conclusion I find problematic, partly because it is an unprovable statement in historical terms, but more importantly because along with *b* it has a somewhat simplistic notion of power. Economic factors may play a significant part in canon formation, for example, and as we have seen outside Buddhism, canonical closure can be achieved by simple decree if closure is an issue which worries the founder of a religion. The extension of political or especially economic coercion into the individual psyche, usually called 'marketing', renders the concept of repression hopelessly inadequate in the modern period, and yet it has clear implications for canon formation. This is, ironically, especially true for Buddhism in the developed West, where there are very few non-commercial systems for the translation and distribution of Buddhist texts.

Novel strategies The point has been made by Gyatso, Mayer and others that whether or not the rNying.ma appeal to Indian precursors for the Treasure tradition is convincing, the programme of legitimation which surrounds the Treasure tradition is specific to Tibet and an emergent feature of the type of Buddhism proper to the Tibetan cultural sphere. Like the *sprul sku* system of reincarnate lamas, it is not found elsewhere in the Buddhist world. Studies of the lives of Treasure revealers (Aris 1989, Gyatso 1998) have exposed the insecurity and instability inherent in the claims of a Treasure revealer, and the sometimes abundant skepticism with which they and their textual discoveries are met. The process of winning authority and of constructing a parallel Treasure canon, alongside the work of proving the canonical validity of older materials, is clearly analyzable in terms of the social structure model proposed above. Where the authority which derives from canonicity might be lined up with Weber's notion of institutional authority, here it is charisma, the charisma of the Treasure revealers and the lineage whose authority they claim, which generates authority for the Treasure text.[13]

3.1.4 Braid

Let me try to gather and twist together the various, sometimes woolly, threads so far presented. The problem before us is to find a useable theory of how a text strives to win, and then maintains, its own authority in a religious community. The collection of texts regarded as authoritative in a religious community is called a canon. Canons are defined by their closure, however unsuccessful it may be. A text which is a plausible candidate for inclusion in the canon, but is rejected, is called an apocryphon. Without apocrypha there is no canon. There appears to be no typical size for a canon.

A canon is best described as a cognitive structure, existing in a realm of social facts, constituted and maintained by social acts. An example of this is the recitation of the Pāli canon or a significant

[13] See the first chapter of Mayer 1996 for a somewhat different application of Weber. In the Treasure tradition there is a sense of charisma inhering in the text itself, and hence a sense of personality. Gyatso draws attention to the countervoice of the ḍākinī within the mental continuum of the Treasure revealer. This plurality of voices indicates the problem of an individual with charismatic authority in a religious tradition which denies the unit self and emphasizes both synchronic (emptiness) and diachronic (lineage) distribution of identity across linked networks of causality.

subset; another example is the assignment to a novice monk of the responsibility of preserving a section of the canon; another is the writing of a prescriptive (dKar.chag) or descriptive catalogue of any particular block printed Tibetan canon; still another is fundraising on the Internet to pay for proofreading the digital Pāli Canon and soliciting scholarly help in this enterprise. It is a feature of a social, rather than an individual, epistemology, of the general type which Foucault or Bourdieu propose. An individual text which is a plausible candidate for canonical status will have certain formal features, such as its language, structure, doctrines and style, which meet criteria for inclusion in the canon, although it is always possible for a text to be stipulated and eventually accepted as canonical by some sufficiently powerful or persuasive agency so that, although it fails formal tests for membership at the time of its inclusion, it subsequently forms an exemplar within the canon through which other texts are eventually accepted.

Texts seeking canonical status act in some ways like *jāti*s seeking to raise their status in the *varṇa* hierarchy. This comparison points out the collaborative and cognitive nature of canonical status. A text's canonical status is achieved through a network of ascriptions to that status, made both within a recitation, manuscript or edition of the text and without, in simply textual terms (such as by labelling themselves as *vaipulyasūtra* or *mahāyānasūtraratnarāja*) as well as in ritual modes. This latter can be internal to the text, as in recommending rituals for itself which are only appropriate to canonical texts, or external, when there is an act of public patronage (such as copying or recitation) only suitable to a canonical text. Thus as with a *jāti* there are verbal and ritual claims both involved in the shift to a higher status.

Moreover, the canon is constituted and preserved through the performance and re-performance of the canonicity of its members, as well as by statements and ritual actions which have the canon as a whole as their object. Actions addressed to individual texts include recitation, veneration, procession and so on. Actions which constitute the canon as a whole can range from the relatively trivial, such as an individual buying a Bible or the CD-ROM of the Pāli Canon, to the expensive and nontrivial compilation and recension of an entire canon; notable examples include the carving of wooden blocks at sDe' rge and the series of councils which culminated in the Vulgate Bible. If the canon is so poorly closed as to admit of no obvious manifestation, there may be a smaller, better defined canon within the canon which can stand for the whole canon in rituals.

The medium of transmission is important: oral, manuscript, printed and digital technologies all condition the form and processes of canon. For the purposes of this study, manuscript transmission was the only technology widely used among the Newars in the 15th century although they would probably have been aware of wood block printing, which was just then becoming important in Tibet.

3.2 The mediæval Nepalese case

Having put forward both a provisional theory and some examples of canon formation from other branches of the vast tree of Buddhism, let us return to fifteenth-century Nepal. As I have already noted, the GKV deploys several strategies to assure its reception as an authoritative text, some of which are unusual, and several of which are shared with the Garland texts generally. This insecurity conditions the entire work: it shapes the form, the style and the content. Yet both the manner and the circumstances of the GKV's response to this need for status cannot be explained by the theories of canonicity so far put forward; for example, there was no external authority which might reject the text as apocryphal. After sketching the historical context (which will be more thoroughly considered in the next chapter) and considering the mechanisms for authorization, I will propose hypotheses about the communities in which and for which the GKV was composed and then revisit

our fledgling theory of canon formation in the hopes that it can digest this rather different instance of Buddhist textual legitimation.

3.2.1 Setting the scene

The community of professional Buddhists in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Nepal was recognized by at least two different external groups as a homeland of late Indian Buddhist knowledge and practice. It is well known that Tibetans had been coming to Nepal to study and receive transmission of important Vajrayāna lineages for some centuries. Although the lowland Buddhist monastic universities of Magadha and Bihar had been wiped out at the beginning of the 13th century, there is also evidence that scholars and pilgrims from other Himalayan states such as Ya.'rtse and Kaśmīr also regularly came to Nepal. Other Buddhist communities probably also recognized the continued vitality of Nepalese Buddhism, including the Chinese and the remaining Buddhist saṅgha in east Bengal.[14] Yet in Nepal itself after about 1360 there was, if anything, a lessening of dynastic support for Buddhism.

The throne had always been Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava, even though the inhabitants of the valley were overwhelmingly Mahāyāna/Vajrayāna Buddhist; as Toffin puts it,

> Although the kingdoms of the Valley had always been Hindu, and had been linked to a caste society from an ancient time, the kings and Brahmins formed only a tiny minority, an aristocracy, until the 18th century. The majority of the population was Buddhist—*buddhamārgī*. It follows that Mahāyāna represented a major religious, intellectual and economic force with which the kings were obliged to reckon.(Toffin 1993: 16)

In chapter four I will return to question this conflation of Brahmin court interests and the wider Indian religious traditions, not necessarily opposed to Buddhism, which influenced the royal families of the valley. It is clear that in the 14th and 15th centuries the marked rise in influence of Śaivaite priests at court, brought from Mithila, probably worked to displace a prior *de facto* Buddhist dominance of the intellectual life of the valley and certainly occurred at the perceived expense of Buddhist interests. This reflects not simply changes in royal fashion, but also the human fact that an earlier generation of influential refugees from thirteenth-century Pāla Bengal were now followed by an equally influential stream of Maithili refugees; where the former had been largely Buddhists, these new refugees were not.

The history of the royal courts in fourteenth-century Nepal had been dominated by the consolidation of power in Bhaktapur. Several generations of political struggle culminated in the personal success of Jayasthiti Malla (1382-95). His regnal dates hide the decades of manoeuvering and gradual assumption of power which preceded his coronation. The sense of a new political and historical coherence felt by the Bhaktapur court is expressed in the first substantial history of Nepal, the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*. The resulting stability lasted for about a century; his younger son Jayajyotirmalla (1408-28) and grandson Jayayakṣamalla (1428-82) held together a more or less unified Nepalese state

[14] For the Chinese, see the discussion of the later Chinese embassies to Nepal (from 1384 to 1427) and the Rāmavarddhanas in Petech (1984: Appendix II). These diplomatic exchanges, regardless of their legitimacy in the internal dynastic disputes of the valley, show that not only the Chinese but also the 'Bri.gung.pas regarded Nepal as a Buddhist polity, whatever the official religion of the court. We may presume that information about these exchanges filtered through to the Chinese saṅgha; but there is certainly no record of Chinese pilgrims to Nepal. For Bengal we have the record of Vanaratna to draw upon; it is impossible to know the extent to which he was aware of Nepalese Buddhism *before* beginning his travels, or the degree to which his fifteenth-century journey from Śrī Laṅka and the centres of South Indian Buddhism north to Nepal and Tibet was exceptional. There is sporadic evidence from Tibetan travel narratives that a low-level circulation of pilgrims and religious did continue from the Himalayas across all of South Asia into the 16th century; see Tucci (1931) for an example.

which fared well in both economic and military terms. On Jayayakṣamalla's death, Lalitpur fully reasserted its usual independence, ending a century of unity.

In the Buddhist version of Nepalese history (to which we will return in the next chapter) Jayasthitimalla was responsible for a significant persecution of Buddhism in the valley under the guise of clarifying the social order, requiring all monks and nuns to marry and take up the work of goldsmithing. Given that the population of Nepal was mostly Buddhist, an open campaign to displace or discredit Buddhist professional religious would have been exceedingly foolish. This story, insofar as it has historical grounds, probably acknowledges the nearly defunct state of the celibate religious at the same time as it objects to the imposition of an intolerant social code deriving from a later Indian tradition which had forgotten how to live with Buddhism. Jayasthiti was a foreigner married into one of at least two contending dynastic lines; his in-laws and he himself had to assert their royal prerogatives in the public, largely Buddhist symbolic sphere while they conducted a campaign of diplomacy and violence. We know that Jayasthiti had sought to assert his position precisely through participation in the Buddhist procession of Bũgadyaḥ.[15] He achieved his legitimation, then, in part by following indigenous rituals, but also by importing Maithili Śaiva court brahmins, promoting Maithili refugees and installing a Maithili tutelary deity, Tāleju, for the dynasty. Once he had power, he demonstrated and legitimated it by imposing a more Brahminical social and legal order across the entire Valley. This is said to have been accomplished with the advice of a panel of five Indian paṇḍits.

While the continued performance of key Buddhist rituals would never have been questioned, they were sometimes reinterpreted in non-Buddhist terms. By the 17th century we find that Śaiva priests and terminology had been imposed onto the yātrā of Bũgadyaḥ.[16] In short, although the 14th and 15th centuries saw a strong single monarchy in Nepal, and with it a reassertion of Brahminical social and religious orthodoxy which worked to the detriment of the professional Buddhist castes, the political powers were never concerned with Buddhist doctrinal or bibliographic purity, nor did they ever project anything like "sufficient intervention from a political state", to use Mayer's terms. The Buddhist activities of these kings were apparently limited to sponsorship of important rituals and monuments.

3.3 How the GKV wins authority

We can divide the strategies which the GKV uses to authorize itself into a few categories. There are borrowings, such as its borrowing of content from the BCA and the very name of the text, borrowed from a much earlier Indian precursor. There are structural or stylistic features, such as the verse form and the complex framing structure. Finally, there are straight claims to authority made within the text itself, either as lineage claims or claims to ritual efficacy. These devices all work together to build an increasingly compelling case for the authority, relevance, and indeed even the political necessity of the work.

While I will consider how these various features work together to establish a seamless appearance of authority, it will be useful to briefly review the more salient features individually, noting which of them are also features of the KV and which are shared with the other Garland texts. This forms the basis for subsequent discussion both of the complex strategy the GKV itself deploys, and of its comparative worth for understanding the same sorts of authorization in Gupta period Mahāyāna as well as in the mediæval Nepalese Garland texts generally.

[15] See Douglas (2002); as he would no doubt have been acutely aware, at least two other dynasties were using the Bũgadyaḥ jātrā for their own royal ritual purposes, one being his chief rival and the other being a neighbouring king! [16] See Locke (1980) and chapter five.

Nested structure The structure of the GKV is illustrated at 2.4 on page 67. The embedding of successively older narrative frameworks in a concentric arrangement serves at least three purposes: it demonstrates the lineage continuity of the Avalokiteśvara story tradition; it situates the reader at the apex of a long historical narrative of enlightenment; and it acts as the background to Avalokiteśvara's own mobility through time and space. Excluding the outermost, post-Śākyamuni layers, this is a structural feature of both the KV and GKV. The GKV's additional two layers, the stories of Aśoka/Upagupta and Jinaśrī/Jayaśrī, have a rather more political and historical function.

Recursive mention of the origin of the text Within this receding structure, one chapter (GKV VII.40ff) tells the story of how and why the KV itself was manifested in the human world. This simple recursiveness is not unusual in Indian literature, but it does ground the text in both the sacred past and in a lineage of teaching Buddhas.

Labelling The GKV, as also the KV and many of the other Garland texts (though not the SvP), calls itself *mahāyānasūtraratnarāja*, "King jewel of the Mahāyāna sūtras". This is a straightforward claim to the status of a Mahāyāna sūtra, and indeed to be among (if not) the best of that heterogeneous lot. The wording of this epithet contains a tacit recognition that the category of 'Mahāyāna sūtra' is rather overstretched and ill-defined. Such a claim is not the same as, for instance, using the term *vaipulyasūtra*, which a handful of early Indian Mahāyāna sūtras do apply to themselves; no later texts use this label and it does appear to be a closed set, although more by historical distance than by the imposition of any authority. Note, too, that the GKV does not claim to be among the *navagrantha*, a list which was and is current in the Kathmandu Valley.

Ambiguous identity The GKV is only rarely prepared to distinguish itself from the KV, and I will argue that this is managed quite carefully to good effect. By contrast, the BhKA claims to be the extension or continuation of the *Lalitavistara*, but both texts are claiming specific dependencies on prior, canonical texts in order to borrow their authorized status.

Verse composition Within the KV, as we have seen, verse form is already considered to be a mark of a proper Mahāyāna sūtra. All of the Garland texts are also in verse; and it would seem that this is not merely stylistic coherence but a desirable property of a sūtra aspiring to authoritative status. This is not the only possible explanation; Tucci and others have described the style of the GKV as 'purāṇic', and much late mediæval devotional Sanskrit is in a similarly simple and repetitive verse style.

Ritual efficacy The GKV claimed the status of a Mahāyāna sūtra by having within itself instructions on its own use, instructions such as "recite me", "promulgate me" and "pay to have me copied". All of this has the obvious result of increasing the sheer number of copies of the GKV in circulation. These recommendations within the text, that it can and should be used in various ritual actions to gain both worldly and spiritual benefits, implicitly assume that the work is of such a status that these rituals will, in fact, work.

Lineage Explicitly embedded in the narrative line and the nested structure are two separate appeals to lineage authority: to the lineage of the past Buddhas, and to a lineage of prestigious Buddhist gurus (Jayaśrī and Upagupta) who in turn root their lineage in the teaching of Śākyamuni. This claim to lineage is flagged especially in the first chapter by the phrase *yathā guruṇādiṣṭaṃ tathā vakṣyate mayā*, "I will tell it just as (my) guru taught it", or variants thereon.

These briefly listed features work with each other in surprising ways. Below I offer three examples: the interplay of ritual fitness and disguised identity, of lineal authority and the majesty of Avalokiteśvara, and of the texts' own structure and its outright claim to status. As we shall see, where some of these devices are used in the KV, the GKV reworks them in a manner which shows an acute awareness of both the historical and the political situation of Vajrayāna in fifteenth-century Nepal.

3.3.1 Ritual recommendations and ambiguous identity

Avalokiteśvara teaches the KV to the asuras at V.52, to humans at VII.40 and the yakṣas at IX.48. In IX, he goes on to recommend various text-centred rituals of a sort which are familar to readers of Mahāyāna sūtras generally.

> Good! Concentrate your minds and listen respectfully. I am going to teach the noble Kāraṇḍavyūha sūtra for your good. Whoever hears this Mahāyāna sūtra happily, and having heard it, preserves it and always recites it, masters it and copies it (the manuscript), sponsors its copying and practices it constantly; who promulgates it and preaches it to others; who constantly joyful, recollects, venerates and worships it too; who faithfully worships it every day, always, and respectfully honours and esteems it forever: for them, an immeasurable uncountable mass of merit, the great joy of wealth and reputation, and the attainment of the stage of the completely enlightened. (IX.48-54; for the edited text see 2.5 on page 59)

This passage in the GKV is fairly close to its parallel in the KV. The peculiarity here, though, is that the object of the textual rituals is named as the KV. This points up again the ambiguity within the GKV as to whether it is the KV or a separate text. Clearly when the KV talks about reciting the KV, copying it, sponsoring it and so on, it is a reflexive recommendation, familiar in the first instance from the Prajñāpāramitā literature. Mahāyāna texts routinely promote themselves both as sources of salvific teaching and as charms to be recited and copied out. So what is the GKV doing when Avalokiteśvara tells the asuras to listen to the KV in order to gain enlightenment? In the same chapter he also recommends performing the Poṣadha Vrata. This is of course nowhere in the original KV, and puts us firmly in the domain of Nepalese worship; but the effect is to put a recommendation to perform the Poṣadha Vrata into the 'mouth' of the KV.

In the last chapter of the GKV we are unambiguously in Nepal, and there it simply calls itself 'this emperor of sūtras'. In XIX.121, Jayaśrī and Jinaśrī are talking:

yatredaṃ sūtrarājendraṃ prāvarttayet kalāv api |
bhāṣed yaḥ śṛṇuyād yaś ca śrāvayed yaś ca cārayet[a] ||
eteṣāṃ tatra sarveṣāṃ saṃbuddhāḥ sakalāḥ sadā |
kṛpādṛṣṭyā samālokya kurvantu bhadram ābhavaṃ ||
(XIX.121-2)

Where this emperor of sūtras is expounded even in the Kali age, he who speaks it or listens, or causes others to hear it, or practises it—all the completely enlightened Buddhas forever look upon them, there, with a merciful gaze, and shall do good for all of them to the ends of existence.

[a] cārayet] prāvarttayet N0 N2 T

Chapter XIX has no parallel in the KV. Even the language and concerns here are not shared with the KV, which does not talk about the merciful gaze of Avalokiteśvara, nor does it worry about establishing manuscripts in shrines. In such a passage, where the GKV cannot claim to be the KV, it doesn't try to. That the GKV does not consistently call itself the KV suggests that this is a managed process, a way of negotiating its identity.

The KV, too, has an unstable identity. Recall that the KV claims to be written in four part verses, which it self-evidently is not, nor apparently ever was. In turn, this claim may have been a reason for the compilers of the GKV to compose a completely new version of the text in four-part verses, although, oddly, the GKV recension never calls itself a verse text.

It would seem, therefore, that the GKV does indeed see itself as being the KV in some sense. I propose that we see this assertion, that the GKV is the KV, as another manifestation of a characteristically Buddhist need to connect new texts with the word of the Buddha. The KV, for its part, had little historical claim to be the word of Śākyamuni Buddha, but was part of a massive and largely successful program of scripture generation in the early Mahāyāna period. This assertion, that the GKV is the KV, appears to be a peculiarly Nepalese strategy for gaining textual authenticity. It is a feature of a smaller, but no less crucial, moment of scripture generation. Thus rather than a new ritual or text, we can indeed be said to have isolated a new variation within the overall pattern of Buddhism, akin to the rNying.ma.pa *gter.ma* method of textual revelation or the generally Tibetan *sprul.sku* method of asserting lineage authority, and one which is not found elsewhere in the Buddhist world.

Understood in this way, the presence of historical framing narratives (rather than the *evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ* of the KV) at the outside of the 'onion', so to speak, makes a little more sense. This historical narrative has at least three functions. It serves (1) to localize and situate the entire book in Nepal while asserting both (2) scriptural and (3) political continuity with the past. I will return to this proposal of political continuity in the next chapter, but here for the purposes of the present discussion I propose that we understand this use of a historical, rather than a mythical, outermost frame as a candid assertion that this work, the GKV, is an historically situated extension of the KV which is validated, in part, through a claim to lineage. It cannot have escaped the audience of this text in its day that there, in Nepal and at the centre of this work,[17] was Avalokiteśvara Karuṇāmaya, the specific Avalokiteśvara of the GKV. It is his cult the GKV promotes, and his presence guarantees the authority of the GKV.

3.3.2 *Buddhavacana,* past Buddhas and transcendence

One strategy for attaining the status of *buddhavacana* is, of course, to cite the Buddha directly, using the familiar phrase *evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ*. The KV does indeed begin in this way, while the GKV does not. Instead the GKV begins with a hymn to the triple jewel, understood as the transcendent Buddha, Prajñāpāramitā, and Avalokiteśvara, and then opens onto a dialogue between two historical Nepalese figures. Why this was thought to be a more potent, or at least more appropriate, claim to authority will be considered below. However, the GKV follows the KV in re-framing the entire question of *buddhavacana* in terms of multiple historical Buddhas. Not only do we have Śākyamuni telling his own stories of Avalokiteśvara, we also have Śākyamuni guaranteeing (*yathā mayā śrutaṃ tathā vakṣyate*) that he is retelling accurately the words of other, previous Buddhas such as Vipaśyin, Śikhin and Viśvabhū. As with the human historical frames, so too with the Buddha's own teachings. The emphasis on lineal continuity granting authority is a strong feature of later Indian, Northern and Eastern Buddhism, and here it is applied even to the *buddhavacana* itself.[18]

The way the claim to past authority is made here, however, has the curious property of drawing the reader ever further into the text and into a history of Buddhism which spans many Buddhas and epochs. If we reconsider the diagram of the work as a whole, each narrative is nested inside a previous

[17] Karuṇāmaya is illustrated on the first folio of every illustrated manuscript of this text I have seen. [18] There appears to be a correlation, at least within Buddhism, between 'sudden enlightenment' schools and the relative importance of lineages. This reflects the importance of initiation in transmitting the unwritten *śāsana*. Thus lineage records are crucial for the mahāsiddha traditions within Indo-Tibetan Buddhism and also for Zen. So far as I have been able to determine, the modern Newar Vajrācāryas pay very little attention to lineages.

one. The veracity of the stories is referred from Jayaśrī back to Upagupta, then to Śākyamuni, then back again to past Buddhas; yet in every case the topic is the heroic activities of Avalokiteśvara. The fact that Avalokiteśvara comes to visit the teaching assembly, and indeed, is said to be in the audience at the outset, creates both a sense of continuity and of violated order in the properly concentric narratives. The sense of continuity, and hence of lineage-derived authority for the stories told, is created by the fact that everyone at every historical stage is talking about Avalokiteśvara, and enhanced by the sense that he is continuously acting throughout history for the benefit of sentient beings, taking on whatever rôle is necessary to impel them toward enlightenment.

Yet while the framing narratives should be setting up the veracity of the enclosed stories about Avalokiteśvara, it emerges that the protagonist of all these stories spans the three times and all the realms in his activities. He has been a witness to countless Buddhas. At this point we are confronted by the tension between the manifest Avalokiteśvara, the actor in these stories, and the transcendent Avalokiteśvara who comprises everything, who can manifest as anyone, and who is, in the final analysis, beyond characterization.[19] This distinction is also the distinction between the first and second sections of the text. In the first are stories about Avalokiteśvara's heroic exploits rescuing sentient beings; in the second is a tour of the worlds contained within the hair pores on the unimaginably vast and awesome body of Avalokiteśvara. While in the KV the metaphysics are managed in arrears—the visionary chapters follow a list of meditations without any introduction, and only at KV II.7 after quite a few episodes does Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin actually ask what their content is, at which point he is still concerned to know if Avalokiteśvara will visit—in the GKV the transition is more clearly marked, turning on Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin's question, "How many entities *are* contained on Avalokiteśvara's body, Lord? Please describe them."[20] This question introduces the entire visionary narrative. In comparison with the KV, both the organization of the narrative and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin himself are more coherent; consequently, the distinction between the historical Avalokiteśvara and the transcendent is more striking.

In the GKV, the two outer layers of framing narrative, lacking in the KV, take place in historical time, after the end of Śākyamuni Buddha's mundane teaching career. In contrast to the KV, where the outermost frame is subject to Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin's anxiety to see Avalokiteśvara and thus also to the possibility of Avalokiteśvara manifesting, in the GKV there are two distinctly historical layers between the time of the text and the mythological time in which the embedded events take place. That Avalokiteśvara will manifest is not questioned: he does, in many ways, and in any possible rôle; and specifically as Karuṇāmaya/Buṅgadyaḥ. But the dichotomy between the heroic narratives of Avalokiteśvara and the visionary traversal of his body is modified and encompassed by the addition of worldly history (India, Nepal) and worldly teachers (Upagupta, Jayaśrī) with royal patrons (Aśoka, Jinaśrī), through whom the teaching of Avalokiteśvara must be transmitted. By locating itself very precisely in a historical and political context, the GKV harnesses a specific kind of authority: not just the esteemed status of *śāsana*, but that of a powerful work, whose central figure may appear at any time in any sociopolitical context, and a work which has been highly esteemed by past kings.

3.3.3 Structure and authority

As suggested above (2.2.1), the actual structure of the GKV works to draw authority from past gurus and Buddhas, and their audiences, to Nepal and to itself. Framing narratives are a persistent feature of traditional literatures generally, and specifically of purāṇas. The stories which form the narrative core of a work are not encountered directly, but are embedded in the conversation between two or more figures, such as Sheherezade and her husband, Śiva and Parvatī or, as here, Buddhas and their

[19] GKV II, KV II.2. See the discussion at 5.6.1 on page 145. [20] XVI.2. bhagavans trijagadbhartus trailokādhipateḥ prabhoḥ | kāye dharmāḥ kiyanto 'pi vidyante tān samādiśa ||

disciples. Complex framing narratives with 'strange loops' or recursive violations of orderly nesting are a speciality of Indian narratives. Perhaps the most famous example is the *Rāmāyaṇa* in which, rather towards the end, the two alienated sons of Rāma come to him and identify themselves to him by narrating the entire *Rāmāyaṇa*. Wendy Doniger, worrying about such narratives, pointed out that where Western authors and thinkers who employ strange loops presume that there must be an 'inviolate' level if one steps back far enough, no such independent frame of reference is presumed in Indian narratives.

> Though Hofstadter rightly senses the Buddhists have thought long and hard about the same paradoxes that he has chosen to tackle (he cites several Zen koans), he does not really understand how much further they have gone than he has gone. (Doniger 1984: 254)

Events in the framing narrative may be foregrounded, or a threat to the framing narrative may affect the embedded narratives in some way. In Scheherezade's case the threat of her execution drives the narrative structure into ever greater complexities; the potential for the collapse of the framing narrative (through the death of the interlocutor) creates a tension which can only be resolved by the successful extension of the text itself.

A Nepalese example from the Buddhist Vaṃśāvalī translated by Wright also takes advantage of threats to the framing narrative: when Śiva is returning from studying yogic awareness in Bengal with his teacher Avalokiteśvara, he and his wife Pārvatī stay the night by the ocean.

> Pārvatī asked him to repeat to her what he had learned. He did so, but Pārvatī fell asleep during the rehearsal, and Āryavalokiteśvara Padmapāni Bodhisattwa transformed himself into a a fish, and performed the part of a listener. Pārvatī at last awoke, and on being questioned showed that she had not heard all that Śiva had recounted. This made Śiva suspect that some one else was listening, and he exclaimed, 'Whoever is lurking in this place must appear, or I will curse him.' On this Lokeśwara appeared in his true form, and Śiva, falling at his feet and making many apologies, was forgiven, From that day forward the Lokeśwara, on account of his having taken the form of a fish, was known as Matsyendra-nātha. (Wright 1877: 140-1)

From this we see that the possible absence of a listener in the framing narrative is intolerable. Moreover, where in the case of Sheherazade the dialogue is between lovers, here it is first between teacher and pupil, then between lovers recast as teacher and pupil — but perhaps because the content of the discourse is too much for a lover to accept, or because Śiva's lover cannot stand the tedious drone of metaphysics, Avalokiteśvara must rescue the dialogue by posing as his student's student.[21] This version of the story of the surreptitious student is an echo of several other similar stories.[22]

Framed frustration The form of the framing narratives in the GKV expects and utilizes this threat to generate, then transform, narrative tension as a didactic device. From the outset, when Śākyamuni Buddha tells Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin about Avalokiteśvara, Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin develops a longing to meet and listen to Avalokiteśvara. This longing grows across all the embedded framing narratives which surround the various stories Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin hears about the exploits of Avalokiteśvara, and his keenness is only honed by hearing that sometimes Avalokiteśvara really does

[21] This multiplicity of forms is a special feature of Avalokiteśvara, as is argued in GKV III, where depending on the needs of aspiring beings he may manifest in any possible social relationship (among other rôles). [22] Bagchi (1934: 16) mentions a very similar story in the *Skandapurāṇa* which is an origin myth of Mastyendranāth. I have also been told a story about Bhartṛhari in which he was forced to learn from his teacher by eavesdropping through a hole in the floor, but I have never been able to find a textual source for this story.

appear in order to teach. What Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin wants is his own framing narrative: he wants to escape his own level and become the interlocutor in one of the embedded—and hence older and ostensibly more original—narratives. However, at a certain point Śākyamuni demonstrates to him conclusively that he only believes himself to be trapped because of his limited understanding of Avalokiteśvara. When Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin begins genuinely to ask how Avalokiteśvara can manifest in so many forms, he learns that everything whatsoever exists on the body of Avalokiteśvara. Thus Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin already has an intimate relationship with Avalokiteśvara if only he could realize it. In the sequence of visionary passages that follow, describing the worlds within each pore of the skin on Avalokiteśvara's body, Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin begins to see the importance of the *cintāmaṇi*, the wishing gem, that recurs in these visions, and pursuing it, he is led to the quest for the six-syllabled mantra. His narrative desire has been transformed: it was a skillful means, and his desires now draw him towards the mantra and, finally, the visualization of Avalokiteśvara whose presence he has so desperately craved.

Frustration transformed and authority revealed This revaluation of the teaching dialogue is itself appropriated and transformed in the GKV. Clearly, one of the implications of Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin's lesson is that the power and authority of a teaching lineage do not wane with age or embeddedness. Instead, the living lineage is there to be encountered directly by a student who can correctly understand the ground on which all narrative, indeed all experience, is founded. The GKV's narrative frame is not a didactic twist within a narrative, intended for a reading (or listening) community whose members are all equally distant from the situation at the opening of the sūtra, but a claim that this ever-vital, renewable lineage, which demands to be understood and to be reawakened, is present in Nepal Maṇḍala and is the same lineage which offered enlightening insight to Indian kings in days gone by.

3.3.4 Depicting the double frame

To confirm the importance of the homology between the Jayaśrī-Jinaśrī, Newar, outer frame and the Aśoka-Upagupta, Indian, inner frame, at least one manuscript has illustrations of the two conversations on opposite folia of the same opening.[23] In each case a richly dressed royal figure in high mediaeval Newar garb kneels before a monk seated in the protective shelter of a five-hooded nāga. Both monks are robed in maroon, with a vajra-crown, prominent earrings, and a long necklace. It is something of a spot-the-difference game to find the distinguishing features between the two illustrations: Aśoka's hat is not the plumed affair which Jayaśrī wears, the vajra-crowns of the two masters are somewhat different, and where the Jetavana garden has only three snow-capped peaks in the background, the Nepalese scene has four peaks forming an almost continuous snowy ridge along the horizon.

Anyone viewing this manuscript would have been confronted by a visual message no less strong than that within the text: just as my teacher told me, so I shall tell you. The Buddhism of Nepal is the Buddhism of India—different scenery, perhaps, and a different king, but the teaching itself has been perfectly preserved, as has the sociopolitical structure which guarantees its preservation. As we shall see below, this direct appeal to royalty was not an unfounded aspiration.

3.3.5 Anonymity, lineage and skillful means

Let us return to the curious reluctance that the GKV shows in identifying itself. It is clear that the text did and does have a separate identity, while at the same time it selectively denies its distinctiveness. In particular, it borrows identity from the KV and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, albeit in different ways. The

[23] Manuscript NGMPP H131/8+





Figure 3.1: Facing illustrations in NGMPP H 131/8: Aśoka with Upagupta (left) and Jinaśrī with Jayaśrī (right). 1r, 2v

GKV is neither a commentary on, nor simply a metrical version of the KV.[24] It does, however, suppress its own identity in favour of the identity of the KV in a consistent fashion, by refusing to name itself with a recognizable label. Given the stress laid within the text on the fidelity with which a teaching is repeated down through a lineage of teachers, the best approach is to accept this relevant emic category as a description of the GKV. The GKV is neither commentary nor versification, but a retelling of the KV, adapted for a different historical context, using the skillful means best suited to its own time and place.

The concept of skillful means is especially helpful here. Avalokiteśvara is the figure most closely associated with this doctrine from the Lotus Sūtra onwards; and skillful means is the hinge which resolves the conceptual tension between Avalokiteśvara as both a transcendent figure and an infinitely polymorphic agent in history. Nowhere does the GKV actually use the term *upāyakauśalya*, but the theme of multiple manifestations in whatever form is most suitable for the salvation of downcast beings is precisely the message of the first half of the text. Indeed, within both the KV and the GKV we find Avalokiteśvara's teaching identified precisely as teaching the KV over and over again in hell, the land of the hungry ghosts and even Magadha.

Thus the GKV is one historical iteration within a long line, from its own perspective the most recent but not the last. As with lineage verses and documents—I have in mind the Tibetan prayers to lineage holders, but also the rare written lineage documents from Nepal such as that of Vanaratna on a manuscript in the RAS—the GKV records its lineal precursors carefully: there is the KV taught by Śākyamuni, the teaching of Upagupta, and the teaching of Jayaśrī.

The manner in which the GKV uses the BCA shows a similar understanding of historical situation and the need to adapt prestigious materials for a specific context. The BCA is pulled in precisely because its message was both popular and relevant, but it is reformulated in the second person. No longer a text for consideration by monastic university students, it is now part of public pedagogy. It

[24] So far as I know, the KV never attracted any Sanskrit commentaries.

is improved for delivery in a sermon: *you* must consider your enemy as a teacher, you—the one in the back of the hall there—*you* must become a bed, a lamp, a shelter for all beings.

Sanskrit or Newari? This raises a difficult question, however. To what extent was Sanskrit oration still alive in the monasteries of Nepal in 1450? Changing the text of the BCA was a bold move. The prestige of the original text and its currency among the priestly caste cannot be doubted; it is still one of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts best known in the Vajrācārya/Śākya community today. If I am right to see this change as a rhetorical device in the expectation of an audience, then there are a few possible conclusions: the compilers of the GKV had an unrealistic picture of their constituency; the priestly audience (as opposed to the patron classes) could still derive some enjoyment from listening to preaching in Sanskrit; or the way in which the work was managed in the public teaching arena meant that such a rhetorical reconjugation of the BCA was a worthwhile endeavour even though it was in an inaccessible language. Of course, all three of these might be true.

There is the language of its composition: the GKV and its sister Garland works are all in Sanskrit, the last major wave of Buddhist composition in Sanskrit anywhere, but this is only evidence for the currency of Sanskrit as a canonical, if not an oratorial, language.[25] It is certain that the ability of the priestly composers of the GKV to write Sanskrit, indeed, their obligation to use the canonical language, was not met by an ability to comprehend Sanskrit among the middle classes or by women of the priestly classes; the question is rather whether there was an expectation that such a work would be preached in Sanskrit anyway, for the enjoyment of many and the possible comprehension of a few.

In modern times, publicly advertised teaching programmes in the month of Gũlā attract audiences from the priestly castes, Vajrācāryas and Śākyas. They happen in the main hall of well-known monasteries and the language used is highly Sanskritic. If we can take the modern situation as a point from which to work backwards—and I am acutely aware that this is not a trivial assumption—then perhaps it is reasonable to imagine a fifteenth-century audience for the preaching of the GKV who were still able to appreciate and in some significant fraction understand the text as delivered in Sanskrit.

Against this we have the evidence of public teaching in the *Aṣṭamīvratamāhātmyas*, collections of story material meant for recitation when the Poṣadha Vrata was performed.[26] These are invariably in Newari, although they are translations of avadāna material whose Sanskrit originals are also widely available in later mediæval Nepalese manuscripts. The existence of painted scrolls which illustrate the narratives in the GKV does not help us, for inasmuch as they supplement an oral performance, they do not inform us whether that performance was in Sanskrit or Newari. All modern teaching does take place in Newari. In the absence of better evidence, the question of the language in which the GKV was first publicly presented must remain open.

3.3.6 The recursive worth of promoting rituals

I stated above that the way in which the GKV claimed its own efficacy as a ritual instrument had the material effect of increasing the number of copies of the text in circulation. There was a similar effect on public perception; the only people who could afford to sponsor manuscript production

[25] The use of different languages for canonical, administrative, mercantile, and other purposes has helpfully been considered by Jan Nattier in respect of the translation of Buddhist texts into Chinese. See Nattier 1990. [26] The Aṣṭamīvrata today is widely understood as a ritual which can bring children. Considering also the description, in the BhKA, of Yaśodharā's performance of the Aṣṭamīvrata during her long pregnancy with Rāhula (see 5.5 on page 141), and the colophon of manuscript T described just below, this suggests that at least one anticipated audience for the GKV might have been women performing the Aṣṭamīvrata. No such tradition of preaching from the GKV during vratas survives.

were those with surplus wealth or the power to command it. This is borne out in the manuscript colophons and inscriptions. The manuscript now known as Tokyo 33 (T) was paid for by a wealthy Tuladhār merchant wanting sons,[27] DD004 was sponsored by several Śākyas at Uku Bahā, at least one of whom was a wealthy Lhasa trader, and there was at least one case of the GKV being sponsored by royalty. Thus as the ritual claim accumulated credibility, the public status of the text improved, lending further weight to the ritual claim.[28]

There is a similar awareness of social context where the GKV recommends the performance of the Poṣadha Vrata. We know the ritual performance of this fast was widespread in Nepal before the composition of the GKV. While the GKV works to legitimate this local ritual and assert its links to Karuṇāmaya, it also derives prestige from mentioning an exceedingly popular ritual. Various efforts were and are made to find a textual basis for the performance of this ritual, mostly rising out of the avadāna literature. For example, Min Bahādur Śākya, in the introduction to his edition of the *Amoghapāśahṛdaya*, claims that (1) Amoghapāśa is first mentioned in the *Sudhana-Kinnarī Avadāna* and (2) that Sudhana, the hero of that story, is only born after his parents perform the Poṣadha Vrata. Neither claim is strictly supported by the Sanskrit or Tibetan sources for this text;[29] there is an *amoghaḥ pāśaḥ* in the *Sudhana-Kinnarī Avadāna*, but it is the infallible lasso used by the Nāgas against the Garuḍas, and there is no mention of any fertility ritual at all.

The GKV defines itself as a Mahāyāna sūtra, the most authoritative possible source, and without seeking any other authority recommends the Poṣadha Vrata. In accord with the differing sorts of appeal to and granting of authority which take place in the concentric layers of the text, the ritual is recommended both by Upagupta (and thus by Jayaśrī) in the outermost, historical layer, by Avalokiteśvara within the historical narrative section and within the very first of the visionary episodes as well (XVI.8). It is not just that there is a reciprocal endorsement: the book recommends the ritual, the ritual locates and grounds the book; but the force of this reciprocity springs from a relation between those few scholarly Buddhist priests who would have been aware of the question of authenticity, the larger community of priests who oversaw the performance of the fast and the different community actually fasting, probably then as now almost entirely women from the middle and priestly castes. This, as with the other legitimation processes already considered, is a way of embedding the text in an active set of social processes. In this case there was no recourse to political or economic power, rather the text inserted itself into a ritual cycle which was influential in the Buddhist community at several levels: elite scholars, jobbing priests and women of childbearing age or older.

3.3.7 Was it successful?

If the GKV can be allowed a degree of intention, then its goals might be as follows: to be received as a Mahāyāna Buddhist sūtra, and as such to be popular, to enjoy a lively ritual usage, to have patronage from the powerful and wealthy and so on; to legitimate certain local rituals; to promote the cult of Karuṇāmaya as a form of Avalokiteśvara. But this is not all, for we should also say: to be itself a source of authority in the world, to participate in the revitalization of Buddhism in fifteenth-century Nepal and to present a model of Buddhist kingship which the Malla kings could endorse. Finally, as in all Buddhist texts whose purpose is considered, we should also say: to assist in the liberation of all sentient beings.

[27] See the discussion in Douglas 1997. [28] As this sort of claim dates right back to the earliest layer of Mahāyāna texts, the Perfection of Wisdom material, it may well have been a factor in the spread of the Mahāyāna textual tradition. If this rather viral ritual was deliberately composed, it demonstrates a remarkably clear understanding of manuscript culture; but I suspect it was an unintentional evolution of rituals to do with relics and amulets. [29] I have not yet read through the Newari versions of this story, but I suspect it is indeed supported in a Newari version, as there are several Newari recensions of the avadānas designed to be read during the performance of lay vows.

Here I can only address the first two ambitions. Given the number of manuscripts in libraries and microfilm collections worldwide and the evidence from colophons, the GKV was a success. Wealthy merchants and priests in Lalitpur and Kathmandu had copies of it made and recited, and at least one recitation of the GKV was set up by royal command. Its narratives were painted onto scrolls for public demonstration, presumably in conjunction with such public recitations.

As to the second set of ambitions, I can only let Wright's chronicle speak for itself. In doing so, I am borrowing a feather from the next chapter's cap, but it will serve us well here:

> His son Yoganarendra Malla succeeded Śrinivāsa.
> (. . .)
> The Rāja built a house, and placed a stone throne in the middle of it, where the astrologers assembled and consulted together to find out an auspicious day for the rath-jātra of Macchindra-nātha. This house was named Maṇi-maṇḍapa.[30]
> He gave a copy of the Kāraṇḍa-Byūha,[31] containing the history of Macchindra-nātha, written in golden letters, to Dharmarāj Paṇḍit of Onkuli Bihār (Uku Bahā), who recited this purāṇa in Maṇi-Maṇḍapa. The paṇḍit gave the following benediction to the rāja: 'O Rāja Yoganarendra, may Loknāth, who has vanquished the wicked and made the people go in the right path, protect thee. O Rāja, the history contained in the book which thou hast given to me, has been recited to the people, and shall be recited again and again. For this meritorious act may happiness attend thee, and mayest thou live long with good health, and reign over the people.' Wright (1877: p. 247-8).

Yoganarendra Malla, son of Śrīnivās, was king in Lalitpur from 1684-1705. The Maṇimaṇḍapa sits immediately outside the palace. While there are other examples of the Buddhist kingship practised by both Yoganarendra and his father, this passage neatly documents the highly public relationship of mutual authorization with the throne which the GKV sought and eventually gained. Wright, who lived in Nepal from 1818 to the 1850s, adds in a footnote here that he has seen that same manuscript, and that it is recited yearly. I have not been able to find any record of this manuscript surviving; it may have been lost in the earthquake of 1934. Whether its recitation continued to be part of the royal rituals of Lalitpur until the Gorkha conquest of Nepal in 1768-9 is unknown.

Loss of influence Where the Poṣadha Vrata and the *rath-jātrā* of Būgadyaḥ are still fundamental to lived religion in contemporary Newar Buddhism, the GKV has fared less well; with the changes in the situation of Buddhism as a whole after the conquest of Nepal, as well as the developments within Buddhism in this century, the public recitation and explanation of Sanskrit sūtras is no longer so important a feature of religious life. When I began working on this project, I found that educated younger Vajrācāryas did know of the GKV, but very little about it; only elite scholarly Buddhists knew much about it. Since then a single Sanskrit manuscript and a Newari translation have both been published, the former in India.

3.3.8 By whom and for whom?

When the GKV was composed, Nepalese Vajrayāna Buddhism was in crisis. The efflorescence driven by refugee scholars from Pāla Bengal was over, and a new wave of Śaiva priests and scholars

[30] See Regmi (1968: vol. II p. 327) for correlating evidence; it may have happened in 1701. [31] Here, the GKV rather than the KV. That this must be the GKV is made evident by the fact that it is described as 'containing the history of Macchindra-nātha'. There are two solid pieces of evidence on which this rests: first, in 1805 or thereabouts, a paṇḍit was sent by the Mahārāja of Jodhpur to commission a manuscript of the GKV precisely because it was a history of Matsyendranāth; and second, in the modern period, Amoghavajra Vajrācārya's history of the deeds of Avalokiteśvara refers to the GKV for stories about Matsyendranāth.

from Mithila had arrived. Lalitpur and Kantipur, centres of Indian and Tibetan Buddhist study respectively, had both been brought under the dominion of a Bhaktapur court which imposed Brahminical legal codes on a predominantly Buddhist social order. Both the cultural dominance and the political patronage which Nepalese Buddhism was accustomed to enjoy had come under threat by the end of the 14th century.

It is clear that the GKV's authorization strategy does involve an appeal to political authority, one which would bear fruit two centuries afterwards. Yet there was no coercive regulation of the Buddhist canon on the part of the powers that were; indeed, this indifference was precisely the problem. There is indeed a range of sophisticated strategies for seeking authoritative status, and indeed, to be treated as a scripture—which could in turn grant legitimation—in the GKV. However, this is not therefore an indication of repressive bibliographic control. What we have instead is overwhelming evidence of a strongly felt need for precisely that sort of interest in the potency of Buddhist scriptures which was lacking.[32] The GKV made its appeal to the professional Buddhist elites who would use it, and second, not less forcefully, to client groups: the merchant classes who would sponsor its reproduction and the royal families to whom its strategy of political legitimation was directed. In the next chapter we will consider the position of Vajrayāna preceptor to the avowedly Śaiva court of the Mallas. It is probable that Vajrayāna priests who were active at court were involved in the production of the GKV.

While the general terms in which the Malla kings sponsored Buddhist rituals and establishments never, apparently, extended to bibliographic regulation, it did sometimes extend to sponsoring rituals in which high-profile texts were recited either ritually or pedagogically. The authors of the GKV, and the other Garland texts, were therefore responding to two very different sorts of want, both of which conditioned complex strategies for authorization. On the one hand, as Brinkhaus suggests, there was the lack of a surviving Great Tradition: Indian Buddhism was, by 1500, dead in its core areas and increasingly fragmented and atrophied on its margins. Where Mithila, for instance, had once been an active sponsor of Buddhist culture[33] and a sphere for Naropa's activities, it was now hostile to Buddhism and, through Jayasthiti and the Maithili Śaiva priests he and his descendants sponsored, an active agent in the suppression of Buddhist social structures in Nepal. On the other hand, there was the contest for cultural currency and political recognition in the very vital living tradition of Nepal. That contest, as played out in the GKV, involved invoking Indian political models and Indian heroes and asserting very strongly that Nepal was a particular sort of Indian polity, in order not only to defend the legitimacy of Vajrayāna in Nepal but to assert its necessity for the well-being of the state.

Opposed needs The lack of monastic universities or other elite institutions in the old Pāla homelands, and the challenge to cultural and political position in Nepal, lead to authorization strategies that pull directly against each other. On the one side there is the opportunity, indeed the need, for localization. On the other is the necessity of appealing to Indian models such as those being used by the Maithili brahmins to legitimate their social reforms. This dilemma leads to the peculiar and elegant solution of the GKV: it is a new, Nepalese text which refuses to distinguish itself from an ancient Indian precursor.

A simple dichotomy between the local tradition and the Great Tradition obscures what the Garland authors were about. Their works perform a balancing act between India and Nepal. This helps to explain why, precisely when confronted with Brian Hodgson, the representative of the only power in centuries both to unify most of the subcontinent and to take an interest in Buddhism,

32 The case of the shifting *navadharma*, which we will consider in the next chapter (4.2.3 on page 109), is an example of intense self-regulation on the part of the Buddhist priestly community, where no such censorship would ever have been mandated by the Nepalese court.

33 See 4.2.2 on page 105.

Amṛtānanda went to some trouble to disguise the Nepalese origins of most of these texts. Only the SvP was openly admitted as a Newar composition. Yet the opening passages of the GKV quite deliberately position us after Aśoka, in the court of Jinaśrī. We are not specifically in Nepal; nowhere does it say that – but Jinaśrī is a Nepalese mythical figure.

Deliberate or unintended? Was this complex strategy deliberately chosen, or was it a feature which emerged naturally in the process of reshaping the older Indian sūtras for a fifteenth-century audience? Certainly in the case of Amṛtānanda we can be sure that the deception was deliberate, and the gull was Hodgson and all the Raj-era academic establishment to whom he reported. Amṛtānanda knew, and Hodgson didn't, that there were several Nepalese Sanskrit Buddhist texts. By the time Hodgson suspected and then confirmed that not just the SvP but also the GKV and other texts were of Nepalese origin, Amṛtānanda's deception had successfully been perpetrated on the Western academic and religious world for which Hodgson was the gatekeeper. Their relationship was, however, unlike anything that the composers of the GKV enjoyed in their time.

Nepāl Maṇḍala as a whole was enjoying a renaissance which began with the unification of various city-states under Jayasthiti Malla. The challenge to the standing of Vajrayāna was offset, in broader terms, by a higher standard of Sanskrit literacy and a distinct increase in political stability. The incursions from the south, such as the repeated attacks by the Ḍoyas or the single, devastating, invasion of Shams ud-din, the Sultan of Bengal, in 1357, had finally ceased. Yet in the 15th century there was a genuine crisis in the situation of Nepalese Vajrayāna, and the production of so great and coherent a mass of texts suggests that it was a significant enterprise for the Buddhist intellectual elites.

This is not an isolated instance. David Gellner has observed that the massive production of *vaṃśāvalī* material in the 19th century was similarly conditioned by the need to both represent and legitimate Newar claims about social standing and antiquity in the Gorkha state; and the efflorescence of Newari and Nepali language printed translations of traditional Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna texts in the 20th century was clearly stimulated by the Theravādin missionary vernacular printing activities of the 1930s and onwards.

There is no reason to believe that Amṛtānanda saw his actions as deception; he was, as the modern Vajrācāryas still are, the properly initiated lineal descendent of an ancient South Asian tradition. Hodgson's insistence (and mine) on the distinction between Indian and Nepalese Buddhism might well have seemed to be a misleading question, one best deflected in order not to distract his keen student from the importance of the sūtras themselves. The very existence of the Garland texts can be taken either as proof of the continuing vitality of Sanskrit Vajrayāna or the death of Vajrayāna in its homeland of Magadha, Bihar, and Bengal. Thus while Amṛtānanda's acts were deliberate, they were very likely a skillful teaching strategy deployed in his conversations with a particular individual, and only fraudulent in the lesser sense assigned in Buddhist pedagogy to constructive deceptions.[34]

So, too, while there was clearly enormous effort expended in the production of the GKV and the Garland texts generally, and we may presume that this was a deliberately focussed effort, it is not possible to claim that the peculiarly Newar method of winning authority, this style of surreptitious innovation, was a deliberate construct. All of its properties—the use of framing narratives, the appeal to lineage, the recursive authorization through ritual practices, the unwillingness to insist on the novelty of a new literary production, even the choice to recast the text in verse—have good Indian precedents. We might better use evolutionary language, metaphors of intense competition in a fertile ecosystem, to describe how such a strategy for textual survival arose. It is in the particularly skillful harnessing of that strategy to the the specific needs of fifteenth-century Nepal that we might look for a talented author.

[34] Skillful deception has a long history in Buddhism. See, for example, the chapter on skillful means in the Lotus Sūtra.

3.4 Refining the theory

The GKV as we have it does work towards its own legitimation and, beyond that, towards its insertion into a cycle of mutual legitimation including priestly, mercantile, courtly, and royal agents. It is part of a complex conversation between indigenous, Buddhist, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava religious ideologies (a far too simple list: Islam, for instance, is constantly in the background, but rarely mentioned) which informs the cultural history of Nepal right through to the present day, a conversation of appropriations, relegations, encompassing and banishing. Yet the sophistication with which this written work plays the system is impressive even by Newar standards. We cannot treat it simply as a passive counter being moved about by outside agents. It insists on being treated in certain ways which accumulate and dispense authority, and refuses to be treated in other trivializing and status-losing ways.

This is coming close to asserting that a text has intention. In the Nepalese Buddhist case that is a real possibility: some texts can be brought to life and treated as sacralized objects of worship.[35] The ritual is called *dyaḥ sthāpana*, the establishment of a deity, and once performed the text will have something of the same sort of complex personhood which G. Schopen has discussed for stūpas (Schopen 1987). Although there are interesting connections between that sort of intention and what we have so far been discussing, I do not wish to rely on this sort of ritual sacralization to explain the directed behaviour of the GKV. To return to our evolutionary metaphor, the problem is akin to that of whether a virus has intention. Most philosophers would not allow a lifeform so primitive as to be the very boundary between organisms and non-organisms to have intention. Viruses do, however, have highly directed behaviour.

3.4.1 Complicating Mayer's list.

What we have, then, is a situation where the lack of any political interest in canonicity is precisely the problem. The lack of any authority which would object to this new material, since the only authorities who could have objected were the very same Sanskrit-using elite Vajrācāryas who produced these texts, does not seem to have lessened the sense of anxiety over their reception as authentic *buddhavacana*. Indeed, several of the key features of these texts work strenuously to guarantee that they be taken as authentic Indian Buddhist texts. In Mayer's terms, it is indeed a political situation, but one lacking in direct bibliographic coercion. Under these circumstances, it is necessary to establish not just the canonicity of a text, but the relevance of any Buddhist canonical text to the powers that be. Moreover, because of the specific cultural circumstances, a blatant claim to being especially Nepalese and specially revealed for the Nepalese situation would fail; there were competitors who could offer a living Indian tradition that in no way compromised the important self-understanding of Nepāl Maṇḍala as a part of the much larger Bhārata Maṇḍala. Furthermore, translation was not an issue—in fact, as with so much else here, it's a distinct non-issue. Fluency in Sanskrit is part of proving the worth of the text.

Clearly, then, the framework for understanding when canonicity becomes crucial needs to be expanded. To the need to assert the canonicity of a specific text, we must add the need to assert the importance of the Buddhist canon as a whole. In the Tibetan context, the question was one of sifting the false *buddhavacana* from the true, with complete agreement as to the importance of the Buddhist teachings generally and disagreement as to the possibility and manner of revelation. In China, where there were contending ideologies, nonetheless the imperial bureaucracy required that the Buddhist canon be cleansed of apocryphal material. In the mediæval Nepalese case, disguised

[35] Compare the Tibetan *rten.gsum*, stūpas, images, and books, which are the three objects of worship that can be sacralized.

textual innovation was required in order to convince the political establishment of the traditional category of Buddhist canon. Although there was little prospect of court scrutiny, nonetheless the text had to assert its canonicity in order to satisfy the felt need, within the priestly community where it was produced, for a powerful and authoritative text.

3.4.2 Complicating the notion of a canonical text

Moreover, the understanding of how canonicity is achieved must be deepened considerably. It is not a matter of people and texts: as Janet Gyatso recognized, there are elements of agency within the text, and the text coheres not at the level of any individual reader or sponsor, but in complex social groupings.

To understand how the GKV achieves its ends, we need a theory which considers the text not as an artifact, but as a social object which inserts itself into processes of legitimation, which is suitable to certain sorts of reproduction and popularization, and which both constitutes and is constituted by those processes. A text can fail to be viable: if, after an initial run, the GKV had simply failed to be convincing, it would never have propagated more than a few manuscripts. Indeed, as we have seen, in the modern world the GKV is dying off along with many other social structures of Newar Buddhism which are no longer supportable. A text may find another situation in which it thrives; indeed, we might say that the GKV did, by so successfully standing in for the KV that authors from Burnouf to Strong and Locke all mistook the one for the other. Sadly, if I succeed in exposing the GKV too clearly to the modern academic preference for older, more authentic, texts, I may well play a part in its final demise.

In the study of Newar society there have been increasingly sophisticated analyses of other social structures that emerge from processes which both maintain them and are maintained by them. They are not total systems which define a people, nor are they located in individuals; they are ascribed and achieved among contesting groups, are rarely unambiguous and often negotiated, and do have material consequences and bases. I took caste as an example above; I might also propose 'cult', in the sense of the configuration of a particular deity such as Mhaipi Ajimā or Karuṇāmaya, as a second case, and *guthi* as a third. While my object here is not to work out a general theory of such structures, I would make two observations. First, while they are not themselves concrete — a text is neither any one manuscript of itself, nor is it the collection of all such manuscripts, nor even any one published critical edition — they do often exist in close co-ordination with something concrete, such as a manuscript, a human member of a caste, or an idol and shrine complex. Second, they are persistent through time in an interesting way: they emerge, endure, and then fall apart. These two properties taken together make them useful objects for historical study.

It would be impossible to give a useful account of why and how the GKV aspires to canonical status without such a theory. In the absence of overt bibliographic regulation, there should, according to Collins and Mayer, be no particular reason for texts to have the features which mark them as canonical. Yet the felt need for authorization is evident throughout the GKV. There is no single relation between a 'canon' being regulated and an 'authority' doing the regulation; as Collins observes, in the simplest case it is the regulation that makes the canon. What is less obvious is that in a situation where there are traditions in contention, the communities which support or reject those canons form a complex of groups that engage in acts which give rise to the texts as canonical, and indeed, to the canons themselves.

Furthermore, this theory helps to make sense of the problematic relation between canonical closure and the authority invested in texts. In the case of the gTer.ma texts, a simple theory of canon or its replacement by charisma offers little explanation for the processes which Gyatso documents, where the treasure discoverer, his or her retinue of students, and politically powerful figures all interact to project and legitimate the discovered treasures in a way which constructs the social reputation of

the author—that is, which literally authorizes the texts, over against the secretly expressed insecurity of the treasure revealer. For the Nepalese material it is clear that the processes of achieving canonical status and authority are linked in surprisingly loose ways; the GKV hides its identity behind that of a prestigious text in the (very open) Mahāyāna canon; yet it achieves and dispenses its potency partly through claims to take part in a political lineage which has nothing to do with the KV, and partly through ritual recommendations which would be empty if the text were not already somehow accepted as canonical.

Chapter 4

Historical considerations

Only my self! Looking at them words going down on this paper right this minim I know there aint no such thing there aint no only my self you all ways have every 1 and every thing on your back. Them as stood and them as run time back way back long long time they had me on ther back if they knowit or if they dint.

Russell Hoban , *Riddley Walker*

It is now necessary to deliver on several promises made in the first three chapters. I have claimed that there was something of a swing away from Buddhism in the intellectual milieu of fourteenth-century Nepal, and that the fifteenth-century renaissance which drove the production of the Garland texts developed in response to this loss of prestige. Moreover, I proposed that the GKV in particular was addressed both to royal and middle-class audiences, and that its strategy for winning authority depended in part on inserting itself into a political and religious system of legitimation. How did Nepalese society change so that a re-invention of Buddhism was necessary?

In overview, we can say that in the few centuries before 1200, Nepāl Maṇḍala saw itself as an important locality within the greater Indian culture area, and the forms of Buddhism and local cults found there were embedded within a supra-regional system of pilgrimage, tutelage, patronage and identity which usually referred to Sanskritic models. At some point between 1200 and 1450 that frame of reference disintegrated, and the Buddhism proper to the Kathmandu Valley was no longer seen as a manifestation of the highest Indian cultural systems although internally and apologetically it drew its legitimation from Indian roots. This exclusion of (Indian) Buddhism from the repertoire of legitimately Indian religions must be seen in relation to wider shifts across North India associated with conservative reactions to the spread of Indian Islam. In the mid-15th century, the dynamic social structures through which Mahāyāna Buddhism was related to other aspects of its situation (e.g. economic, social and political) finally evolved, and with that shift Newar Buddhism as we now understand it was born.

This brief narrative only accounts for a change in self-understanding in a society which explicitly adopts Sanskritizing authority. An external observer looking at the Kathmandu Valley is confronted immediately by the many features of Newar society which must be related to Himalayan rather than Indic cultures. Nepāl Bhāṣā (Newari), the language of the Valley, is a good example. Though a Tibeto-Burmese language, it is an isolate which has evolved away from other languages of its family for thousands of years. Loanwords tend to come from Sanskrit, Hindi or Persian, not from Tibetan.[1] Yet it is one of the only Tibeto-Burmese languages with a genuine classical literature,[2] and while we

[1] It is thus comparable to Kaṇṇada among the Dravidian languages. In the modern context of Newar cultural assertion, ‘genuine’ Newar coinages have started to appear. [2] The others are Tibetan and Burmese.

do not know how long it has been spoken, it is the most powerful symbol of cultural unity for the Newars. Many times the Valley has borne influxes from outside, an historical fact expressed in the physical diversity of its inhabitants, and until the 18th century every successive incoming wave was integrated first through gaining facility in Nepāl Bhāṣā. Although Sanskrit/Newārī versions of the *Amarakośa* were repeatedly generated, no systematic grammar along Pāṇinian lines ever emerged as it did for Tibetan. Similarly, the Sanskritic *jāti/varṇa* system, which reaches a staggering complexity in the dense urban core of Newar society, was modified and transformed by the *guthi*s, a social structure whose name derives from a Sanskrit word for 'guild' (*gosthāna*, literally 'cow-place') but which is distinctively Himalayan in origins.[3]

This is not to suggest that Buddhism is somehow a more 'Himalayan' feature of Nepalese society than its rival sects. Buddhism is certainly far older in the Kathmandu Valley than elsewhere in the high Himalayas, and is of a similar antiquity to that of Oḍḍiyana and Kaśmir if not considerably older,[4] but the form of Buddhism which we find in the valley now derives from the last form of Vajrayāna to have developed in the subcontinent. While it may well be that some of the Himalayan social structures (such as the oligarchy and negotiated kingship which seem to be characteristic of Lalitpur) are shared with other Buddhist societies in the Himalayas, the 'Tibetan' Buddhism[5] of the Himalayas also derives from the Indian stock which mediæval Newar Buddhism claims to represent. Thus in 1200 a Tibetan coming to Nepal would have seen a bastion of the traditional Indian Buddhism from which his own tradition derived. By 1500, however, while that traditional identification would have still been applied, the Buddhism of the Kathmandu Valley had undergone its own process of indigenous regeneration.[6]

To ground this historical argument, I must first provide a general historical context including some comparative data from across Northern India and the Himalayas between 1100 and 1500. In the first instance this will show that Vajrayāna was still very much a living and influential tradition after 1200, or indeed after 800. In contrast to a widespread, if rather fuzzy, model of the decline of Buddhism in northern India which hears the death knell of Indian Buddhism in Harṣa's funeral rituals,[7] it would appear that right through the Pālas and afterwards there was considerable royal sponsorship of Buddhism around Bengal, throughout the Himalayas and within central Magadha. Moreover, in Śrī Laṅkā and Southeast Asia, Indic Buddhist polities transformed by internationally linked religious reformations developed a highly durable form of Buddhist state which is well documented.[8] While the more nuanced versions of the old model, such as that espoused by Ron Inden, may be useful for their understanding of the alternation between Buddhist and brahminical royal ritual within India, the inscriptional evidence for state sponsorship of Vajrayāna ritual long after its presumed demise as

[3] For an introductory discussion, see Muhlich 1999. [4] The oldest material proof of Buddhism in the Valley may be a Kuṣāṇa period image; Tamot and Alsop (1996) in the longer version of an article subsequently published in *Orientations* argue for identifying it as a Bodhisattva rather than a yakṣa. There is in any case good reason to accept the traditional belief that Buddhism was established in the valley by the time of Aśoka. Huntington and Bangdel have recently argued that Gũ Bahal was "the oldest known rock-cut Buddhist monastery in South Asia" (2001: 63). [5] By this shorthand I mean the complex of shamanism and Central Asian Buddhism which is characteristic of the high Himalayas and looks to Tibet for its models. [6] In fact the Newar tradition appears to preserve at least two distinct layers in the formation of Vajrayāna, one very early and comparable to, say, Shingon or Indonesian Buddhism; and the other which begins from the latest Indian developments and continues to develop. [7] See, for example, Inden (1979) [8] See *inter alia* Smith (1978) and Tambiah (1976). While there are substantial differences among them, Śrī Laṅkā, Sukhodaya, Ayutthaya and Pagan share many common features in the complementary relations of saṅgha and state. This is often related back to an Aśokan model; but other late Indic Buddhist polities, such as Pāla Bengal or the Western Mallas, let alone mediæval Indian dynasties, do not show the same structural relation to a celibate saṅgha, and thus here as elsewhere we should be suspicious of claims to have preserved an old form. Rather a new form of Buddhist polity, which drew heavily on Theravada monastic conservatism and texts such as the *Mahāvaṃśa*, seems to have developed and prospered.

an historical force necessitates a revision in the understanding of the relation between polities and their religious rituals in the later mediæval period. Indian Mahāyāna/Vajrayāna Buddhism was the basis for the dynastic cults (*kuladevatā*) of several Sanskritic polities which we can identify in the 13th and 14th centuries, and it drew on a traditional Indian model of kingship. Indeed, the collapse of political patronage for Indian Buddhism may be seen in terms of an increasingly conservative model of what was 'Indian' over against the Islamic, Tibetan, and Theravāda models which influenced and transformed mediæval Indian polities.

Second, I will provide an outline of the political situation in fifteenth-century Nepal. Although there is very little direct Nepalese evidence for the period which has not already been covered by the Historical Purification school in Nepal (the *Itihāsa Saṃśodhana*, whose journal *Pūrṇimā* is invaluable) and, following them, Petech and Regmi, nonetheless the recently rediscovered Tibetan biographies of Vanaratna provide a helpful corrective to their accounts and show, in considerable detail, the complex relations between the brahminical and Buddhist professional classes in competing for royal patronage. His residence in Nepal spans several decades in the middle of the 15th century and while the Tibetan biographers are, of course, concerned to show his place in the transmission of lineages from India to Tibet, there is nonetheless an astonishing amount of useful information about Nepalese religion and politics.

Finally, I will use this historical account to situate the composition of the GKV and the Garland texts.

4.0.3 Balancing the evidence

The sources available for my historical research are not as neatly balanced against each other as I might have liked. Vanaratna's biography, covering the mid-15th century, presents the first-hand views of a highly educated outsider who chose to settle in Lalitpur. He writes with the perspective both of a paṇḍit well versed in the whole Sanskritic tradition and of a latter-day Vajrayāna *mahāsiddha*; he translates Vaiṣṇava plays for the Newar court from Sanskrit into Newari, takes part in religious debate against the non-Buddhists and gives alms to ascetics of all traditions, much to the irritation of conservative elements among the Nepalese Buddhist saṅgha. By contrast, the major chronicle we have for fourteenth-century Nepal was written to prove the status of the ascendant Bhaktapur court with its close ties to Paśupatināth. The implicit Śaiva bias in the material generated by the Bhaktapur court in this period has not generally been explored, partly because the chronicle has proved very reliable for the pre-Malla period but also in part because it is convenient for the ideology of the modern Nepalese state not to question the legitimacy of the Bhaktapur court. Where we do have Buddhist chronicles, such as the Wright vaṃśāvalī, the veracity of their specifically religious statements (such as the complaint that Jayasthiti oppressed the saṅgha) also has to be questioned. Now, my general thesis in this historical section is that while there was a substantial shared material, ritual and theological basis among the various sects in mediæval Nepal, we nonetheless can also see considerable sectarian rivalry among the elite strata who competed for court patronage from at least the 14th century onward. The formation of Nepalese Buddhism as we presently have it derives from that rivalry, and thus the sectarian biases inherent in the source materials are a distinct concern. It would be impossible to constantly and overtly manage the apparent and suspected moves made within my sources—which are themselves part of this political and religious game—but at times I will call attention to bias within the sources.

4.0.4 Clarifying terms

Before delving into the historical and comparative material, I would like to make clear distinctions among a handful of useful terms for talking about the sorts of political entity and associated cults one

finds at this time in South and Central Asia. There were no nations in anything like the modern sense of the word, but across South and Central Asia there was a bewildering diversity of patterns for the relations between a political authority and its religious legitimation. South of the Kathmandu Valley in the Indian subcontinent, there were monarchies of greater and smaller extent, which when they subsumed other smaller monarchies are called empires. Thus one speaks of the Pāla empire, although in extent it was relatively small compared to the Abbasid Caliphate or the Mongol Empire. Far to the north, the Mongol empire extended over diverse regions and polities, ranging from nomads to the highly bureaucratized Chinese state, with no clear model of its own, although the various 'hordes' of the Mongol empire adopted Chinese or Islamic models as it broke up. Closer, yet still across the Himalayan ridge, the various Tibetan polities left after the Tibetan empire of the 7th to 10th centuries had fragmented were contending for supremacy. Sa sKya Paṇḍita in the 13th century established a particular priest-patron relationship with the Mongol Khan which, although it drew on Indic Vajrayāna models of royal consecration and patronage, was the founding gesture of a new politico-religious configuration that has acted as a model for Tibetan politics until the present day.[9] Along the length of the Himalayas there was a transition underway, with Islamic, Tibetan, Sanskritic Vajrayāna, brahminical Indic and Theravāda models all available as contrasting models for polities (and their understanding in a religious context) as they emerged into self-definition.

In the century before Jayasthiti, there was a complex four-way relationship, as yet only partly understood,[10] between the Vajrayāna Buddhist state of Ya.'rtse, the 'Bri.gung.pas—an early Tibetan monastic polity, the Nepalese courts and the Sa.sKya.pas, who won their struggles with 'Brig.gung in part because of their successful appeal to the Mongols. It is still unclear what direct contact there was between the Nepalese kings and the two Tibetan monastic states, but subsequently we find evidence that the Chinese (at that time still under the dominion of the Mongols) had opened diplomatic relations with one of the Nepalese dynasties, the Rāmavarddhanas, who were the greatest rivals within Nepal to the nascent Bhaktapur court of Jayasthiti. Vanaratna, for his part, appears to have come from an eastern Bengali principality which may have had links to Pagan, and trained for several years in Sri Lanka. While he was not himself a political agent he was a bone of contention for several Himalayan polities.

In Nepal, the notion of 'national' (*rāṣṭriya*) does not properly apply until the development of the Gorkha state in the 18th century. However, there is a strong sense of *deśa*, which is neither simply a topologically definable region nor a unified polity. Within the GKV we find the idea of foreigners (*anyatraja*) and in contemporary inscriptions the term *nepālamaṇḍala* or *nepāladeśa*, yet there is no well defined border to Nepāl Maṇḍala aside from the valley rim itself. That rim is a minimum; the Kathmandu Valley has almost always been the centre of extension for the actual scope of Nepal, which reached out to include at least Nuwakoṭ to the northwest, Pharping to the southwest and the next valleys eastward, where Banepa, Dhulikel, Panauti and eventually Dolakhā are found. At the same time, within this *deśa* there were several contending rulers and even types of government; Lalitpur in the mediæval period was an oligarchy, while Banepa and Bhaktapur were monarchies. At least in the case of Nepal, then, and possibly for other similar tightly integrated regions, we have a problematic term, *deśa* or *maṇḍala*, which cannot be accurately rendered by nation, state or country.

Recently Newar intellectuals have insisted that foreigners (now the less welcoming *videśi* is the term used) refrain from attempts to translate the native toponym and simply call it Nepāl Maṇḍala; but while this cheerfully reflects the unanalyzed nature of the thing under inspection, it doesn't give us a generic term to use when talking about other similar entities. The Sanskritic term *maṇḍala*

[9] On the Tibetan empire see Beckwith (1993); for a discussion of modern Tibetan tendencies to follow the priest/patron model, see recent studies by Cathy Cantwell. [10] See Douglas (2002), Petech (1980) and Vitali (1996) for an indication of the problems. As we do not yet have a proper understanding of 'Bri.gung and Nepalese history this remains an area much in need of investigation.

can be referred back to its exhaustive treatment in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. There, it does refer to a unified polity, usually under a monarchy, which has unambiguous diplomatic relations with similarly organized states round about. It may expand to include sub-polities, just as the Pālas did, becoming a wheel containing other wheels. While the ideal of a single polity encompassing the various Newar cities and districts recurs in the ambitions of various dynasties, there is no single centre. Between 1200 and 1800, Bhaktapur, Banepa, Lalitpur and eventually Kathmandu all contended for dominance, and the question was only finally settled when an outside power, the Gorkhas, absorbed the entire valley as part of the formation of the modern Nepalese state. Thus the term 'maṇḍala' as it is used by modern Newar intellectuals (and their apologists, such as Mary Slusser) reflects rather more the sentimental desire to have been united around a centre than it does any historical reality.

It would seem that geography does in fact have a lot to do with the cultural coherence of the comparable Himalayan entities—Mustang, Ladakh and so forth, all in or centred around compact and fertile valleys with significant trans-Himalayan trade routes; and moving further afield, valleys and islands again seem to offer the best comparisons: Śrī Laṅkā and Java come to mind, although these are considerably larger in area. The similarly coherent city-state, a remarkably persistent political form, is defined in part by a unitary political authority, whether bureaucracy (modern Singapore, Hong Kong), restricted democracy (classical Athens), oligarchy (mediæval Genoa) or monarchy (mediæval Śrīvijaya, modern Brunei).

What we do find in India is dynasties. Petech frames much of his history of the Valley after 1200 as a struggle between rival dynasties hoping to consolidate control over all of Nepāl Maṇḍala. The dynastic model does hold good for some of the Himalayas and all of Northern India at this time. These dynasties are not so much continuous descent lines with royal prerogative as they are the continuously constructed fiction of a traditional royal line intimately tied to a specific locality. Thus in Ya.'rtse, in Western Nepal, we find the long history of the Khāsiya dynasty carefully outlined in the Dullu inscription, which Petech himself has shown to be a fraudulent reconstruction intended to legitimate the incumbents. The dynastic pattern also holds in Nepāl Maṇḍala, and for the purposes of this study we will assume the existence of a royal court with ministers, royal appointments and the possibility of royal patronage. This is borne out by the evidence we have from inscriptions and Vanaratna's account. It was not, however, an absolute monarchy. The throne was frequently shared among siblings or between father and son(s), and while the queen was never given the throne on her own, some women did wield considerable power.[11]

In Lalitpur there was a cluster of families, the Mahāpātras, who formed a durable oligarchy; at certain times—when Jayasthiti Malla or Pṛthivīnārāyan Shāh was negotiating for control of the whole Valley—they gave their explicit consent to an external ruler, but otherwise they ran Lalitpur themselves or supported an indigenous Malla king. This autonomy is manifest in Vanaratna's biography; as we will see, he gets his office from the Bhaktapur rāja, but his dwelling courtesy of the Mahāpātras. Even they assert their potency by claiming to be descended from the ancient Licchavi dynasty of Nepal.

The Bhaktapur court takes on a different, less qualified, model of kingship from its Maithili origins, backed up by Maithili Brahmins. One way to read the reforms propagated by Jayasthiti is as an attempt to centralize authority in a typically North Indian fashion, suppressing the indigenous monarchy-with-consent form which is found elsewhere in the Himalayas. The attempt fails in itself, but it does mark the successful introduction of a fundamentally alien Brahminical ideology which is picked up by various contenders for absolute authority in the Valley until Pṛthivīnārāyan Shāh, who is both sufficiently powerful to impose his will and brings with him a Brahminical model of

[11] Thus Devalladevī, a formidable dowager in the Bhaktapur court, was almost certainly the real force behind Jayasthitimalla; she arranged his marriage to one of her own female descendents and managed the campaign of both publicity and military force that led to his consolidation of power.

kingship. He is able to draw on this pre-existent, albeit imported, ideology to justify his actions; and subsequent vaṃśāvalīs composed as part of legal battles between Newar and Gorkha interests also return to this ideology without questioning it.

To sum up, then, there are numerous different types of governance available as models in the wider Himalayan region. Monarchy, sometimes qualified by shared rule or the consent of locally powerful family heads, is the norm in Nepal during the Malla period. However, it is not possible to speak of the entire valley as a single political entity except insofar as that reflects the ambitions of various expansionist rulers. The term Nepāl Maṇḍala, strongly preferred by modern Newar historians, does express a cultural and geographical unity with fluctuating boundaries, but unlike the classical use of the term maṇḍala in India, there were multiple contending centres of authority, multiple structures of authority and multiple mechanisms for its religious legitimation; moreover, these same patterns were evolving during the period 1200-1600. Although in what follows we will be comparing the court in Nepal to that in Ya.'rtse, Mithila and other places, the complex nature of the Newar polities requires that we be cautious in drawing conclusions.

4.1 Nepāl in Pāla Buddhism

Nepal was not a passive recipient of the high culture of Pāla Buddhism. Rather, lay and renunciant religious from Nepal played a vital rôle in the constitution of Indian Vajrayāna, and the Nepalese together with the Kashmirians were the crucial intermediaries in its transmission to Tibet. Nonetheless, certain characteristic features of Nepalese Buddhism appear never to have been absorbed into Pāla Buddhism, nor to have been transmitted to Tibet. Similarly, there are elements of Indian Vajrayāna which, although they developed in Nepal, appear not to have found a place within Nepalese Vajrayāna. Thus we can speak of the Nepalese contribution to Pāla Buddhism as well as a distinctly Nepalese flavour of Buddhism which evolved through the Pāla period and beyond.

By Pāla Buddhism I mean the evolved form of Vajrayāna Buddhism which had Sanskrit as its canonical language; which was centred around a heartland of Magadha, Bihar and Bengal but reached as far as Indonesia, Śrī Laṅkā, Kaśmir and Tibet; and which, under the patronage of the Pāla dynasty (750-1150CE), supported a series of large monastic universities with formal Buddhist curricula. In fact, 'Pāla Buddhism' developed and prospered across a far larger cultural area than the Pālas ever controlled, and it continued for several decades after the Pālas were supplanted by the Senas. Pāla Buddhism may be said to end around 1200, when the great monastery founded by Dharmapāla, Vikramaśīla, was destroyed by Turkic-speaking mercenaries; Somapura, Odantipura and Nālandā all closed at about the same time, either as a result of raids by treasure-seeking mercenaries working for the Ghaznavids or Khaljis, or through neglect.[12]

For Nepal's Buddhist community, the political collapse of the core patronage region of Indian Buddhism in the late 12th century led to a great refugee influx from the lowlands, and especially from those great East Indian monastic universities. The effect on the historical evidence is rather like the distinct narrow strata found in the geological record which mark vast cataclysms. Several beautiful manuscripts have been found in Nepalese monasteries which were produced outside the valley for non-Nepalese patrons before 1200, all of which suggests that they came into the valley along with their wealthy refugee owners. Tibetan biographies from the period, notably that of Dharmasvāmin,

[12] The continuity of Pāla Buddhism in the region of east Bengal, Assam and the mountainous region which divides Bengal from Burma is extremely difficult either to document or disprove. Vanaratna claims to have had a proper Buddhist education in a country where there were monastic schools, and there is scattered evidence, such as fifteenth-century manuscripts of the Kālacakra Tantra, which suggests that there was significant continuity. Inscriptional evidence or corroborating chronicles are so far lacking.

clearly record the desolate state of the Indian monastic universities and the dangerous conditions for travel in Magadha and Bihar.

Nepalese inscriptions throughout the mediæval period locate *Nepāladeśa*, Nepal, within *Bhārata*, India; from the mediæval Nepalese perspective they were not marginal or exterior to the larger cultural area, and the categories Nepalese and Indian were not mutually exclusive. Neither should we wheel in the somewhat rusty instruments of Sanskritization or the 'Great' and 'Little' traditions and a notion of subordinate inclusion; for Vajrayānist Nepalese were already experts in producing and maintaining the intellectual products of the greater cultural region. This was most apparent from the outside: monasteries in Nepal were a training ground for Tibetans wishing to learn Sanskrit and the other languages they would need to participate in the academic life of Vikramaśīla, Somapura, or the other great monastic universities.

4.1.1 Nepal as a source of Pāla Buddhism

The Nepalese contribution to Pāla Buddhism has been documented with increasing clarity over the past decades, and indeed, the claim to a share of the responsibility for Indian Vajrayāna is popular among modern Newar Buddhists. In Naresh Man Bajracharya's traditional history of Nepalese Buddhism (1998) we find a long list of Nepalese Buddhist scholars. From the careful study of Tibetan sources in Lo Bue (1997), however, emerges a clearer picture of the contribution Nepalese scholars and monks made to 'high' Pāla Buddhism in the tenth to twelfth centuries, and its transmission to Tibet. Although the emphasis in this article is on the rôle Nepalese played in transmitting Buddhism to Tibet, it can equally well be read for evidence of the contribution Newar scholars made to Indian Vajrayāna. Tibetan chronicles, which do provide a wealth of information on the movement of scholars and lineages, do not in general go back far enough to illuminate the formative period of Indic Vajrayāna. It is clear, however, both from material evidence and from the surviving ritual praxis, that Newar Vajrayāna predates its Tibetan cousin considerably. The Tibetan sources, which usually locate Nepal at the near edge of a Pāla Buddhism centred on Indian universities and pilgrimage sites, do not illuminate the tenacity of the Nepalese tradition.

Art historical evidence gathered by Huntington and Bangdel (2001) has led them to suggest that the Nepalese contribution to Pāla Buddhism was both earlier and more important than even the Newars usually claim. In particular, the iconography for the cult of Vajrasattva, which is fundamental to Indo-Tibetan Vajrayāna, can be tightly linked to that which appears in early Gaur sculpture. Elements of Vajrayāna iconography are found in Nepalese sculpture from at least the sixth century. While Huntington and Bangdel carefully refuse to propose a genetic relationship between the Gaur sculpture and the Nepalese material, we can at least say that the Nepalese Vajrasattva is as old as the oldest evidence we possess. It is, they say, quite possibly as important a site for the development of Buddhism as Oḍḍiyana and Kashmir.[13]

I proposed above to distinguish between features of Nepalese Buddhism which were and remained local; features arising in Nepal which contributed to the development of later Indo-Tibetan Vajrayāna without becoming important in Nepalese Buddhism; and features which were acquired from the broader Indian (perhaps we should say '*bhāratīya*') tradition. Let me offer an example of each before moving on to a longer discussion:

- Characteristic cults (such as that of Mhaipi Ajimā), ritual or doctrinal systems (such as the mini-canon called the *navadharma* discussed at 3.1.1 on page 70 and 4.2.3 on page 107) and architectural types (the distinctive monastic architecture) appear to have developed and perdured in Nepal without a great deal of transformation through the Pāla period and afterwards.

[13] To this list I would add Khotan, which appears to have been closely linked to the Himalayan centres of Vajrayāna (Allen 1997) and also to have been an important site for the development of Vajrayāna.

- The systematic cult of Vajrakīla had its genesis in the 9th century in Pharping, an outlying settlement on the rim of the Kathmandu Valley, and one of the three key figures was a Newar; yet the cult of Vajrakīla, systematized in Sanskrit, never took off within Nepal as it did among the Tibetans.[14]

- Although the monasteries of Nepal did support active scholarly communities, the great monastic universities of the Pāla age were all in Bengal, Bihar and Magadha. These universities supported hundreds or thousands of students, as the great Tibetan monastic universities did. Thus the intellectual and material achievements of that great university culture—destroyed just as the great Western European universities were developing—flowed into Nepal, lending Nepalese Vajrayāna its doctrines, iconographies and ritual procedures. Even if some of the greatest scholars in those universities were Nepalese (e.g., Ratnakīrti), the work had to be done outside Nepal.

4.1.2 Persistent features

It is tempting at this point to launch into an exhaustive history of Nepalese Buddhism in the Pāla period. Recent research into Nepalese sources, such as that by Dhanavajra Vajrācārya or Kashinath Tamot, or that of Alexander von Rospatt and Erberto Lo Bue, which draws on a wide range of Nepalese, Tibetan and Indian sources, has revealed ever more historical detail, especially from 900CE onwards. For the purposes of this thesis, however, it is enough to establish that there was a distinctive identity to Nepalese Buddhism which contributed to the formation of Pāla Buddhism, and which formed the basis for the essentially conservative reinvention of Nepalese Buddhism in the 15th century. To be more precise, specific socio-religious structures, many of them closely tied to elements of the landscape, endured from the Pāla period in Nepal to the 15th century, and it is to these, rather than the lost pan-Indian tradition, that the composers of the Garland literature turned when they established sūtras for the Nepalese Buddhist community.

Pilgrimage sites

Were we able to interrogate a Bengali, Konkani or Tibetan Buddhist of the Pāla period about Nepal, it is likely that they would name the great pilgrimage sites of Svayaṃbhū Mahācaitya and the Red Lokeśvara of Bũgama. Fixed within the Nepalese landscape, these great pilgrimage sites are the pegs on which much of Newar mythology and practical religion is hung, and the most durable symbols of Nepalese Buddhism in the wider Asian context. They are recorded in Chinese, Tibetan and Indian sources, as well as standing at the head of Nepalese origin stories for culture and religion. Both Svayaṃbhū and Bũgadyaḥ are identified in illustrations found in two eleventh-century manuscripts. These manuscripts of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*[15] appear to constitute a sort of armchair pilgrim's guide to the known Buddhist world. Between them they list sites as far off as Wu tai Shan in China, Śrīvijaya and Śrī Laṅkā. Although both manuscripts are Nepalese in origin, they do not appear to unduly favour local attractions; among the dozens of sites listed only these two are in Nepal, and there are no sites from elsewhere in the Himalayas or Tibet.[16] Tibetan pilgrimage guides and biographies[17] similarly identify these two sites. We know, too, that wealthy Indians were involved in a late twelfth-century restoration of Svayaṃbhū (Erhard 1991; von Rospatt

[14] On the origins of the Vajrakīla system see Boord (1993), especially chapter 4. Padmasambhava's consort, Śākyadevī, and one of the two scholars assisting him, Śīlamañju, are said in various sources to have been Nepalese. [15] Cambridge add 1643, Śrī Hlā Vihāra in Nepal, 1015CE; Asiatic Society of Bengal add. A.15, unknown monastery (*śrī kisa-* - -)Nepal, 1071CE. [16] This suggests that the now massive complex at Bodhnāth, which did exist by 1100, was not significant for the compilers of these manuscripts. [17] See Roerich (1959) and Wylie (1970).

2000); and Svayaṃbhū and Bũgadyaḥ were the objects of pilgrimage for the Western Malla kings in the 13th century (Douglas 2002). Atīśa is recorded as visiting Svayaṃbhū in 1041, the year he renovated and expanded Thā̃ Bahī (Locke 1985: 410-1).[18]

I know of no Indian sources that mention Svayaṃbhū or Bũgadyaḥ before 1000CE . There are good reasons to date Svayambhū back at least to 400CE and Bũgadyaḥ to the 9th century, but we can say little about their fame beyond the bounds of Nepāl Maṇḍala before the later Pāla period. Lévi, reviewing the evidence from Chinese sources in the 7th century, believed there was a reference to Svayaṃbhū in a fragment preserved from the account of Wang Hiuen-ts'e (1905: vol. I p. 159 n. 1), but the autobiography which would preserve full details of his three visits to Nepal is sadly lost. From the time of Atīśa's visit to the present, though, we have ample evidence of pilgrimages to Bũgadyaḥ and Svayaṃbhū from South and Central Asia. The social institutions that accompany these sites are equally durable. Each site has its special clergy, distinct from anything else in the Kathmandu Valley: Bũgadyaḥ has his Pañjus and Svayaṃbhū its Buddhācāryas. While their specific origins are, for the moment, obscure, we know of at least one Pañju who was an active scholar in the late Pāla period, the White Pañju.[19] Lo Bue (1997), who discusses the origins of Haṇ du dKar po at some length, decides that he must be an Indian who settled in the Valley, thus 'becoming' a Newar. This is possible for other ācāryas, but not for a Pañju, which even then would almost certainly have been a closely guarded hereditary position.[20]. The distinct nomenclature of these ancient groups of professional religious, tied as they are to these two famous sites, may be a sign of their ability to attract pilgrimage from outside the valley. The consequent responsibility would of course be vestigial or completely lost now, but there may have been traces of this social structure still visible in the early decades of the Shah dynasty.

Teaching lineages

We know from Tibetan sources that there were teaching lineages which extended across the entire Buddhist world—indeed, much of the work of certain Tibetan texts is simply to document the teaching and initiation lineages which stand behind an individual or institution. There is at least one instance of a Nepalese manuscript (the RAS *Vasantatilakā*) which lists the Bengali pandit Vanaratna's own lineage in its colophon, as well as one (Śāstrī 1917: 144) which carefully notes that its sponsor, Dharmarakṣita, was a student of Vanaratna.[21] Such local teaching lineages which cross the boundaries between monasteries are known in Nepal, but there may have been teaching lineages which had a broader scope while retaining a regional basis.

The *-śrīmitra* lineage (already mooted at 2.1.8 on page 40), for example, appears to be a Nepalese lineage or at least a lineage with a significant Nepalese component. Evidence for this lineage comes from a variety of sources, but the crucial piece of evidence is an inscription from Nālandā described by Majumdar (1907). It is undated, and records a teaching lineage of four scholars: Karuṇāśrīmitra, Maitrīśrīmitra, Aśokaśrīmitra and Vipulaśrīmitra. What is extraordinary about this inscription is that it allows us to recognize members of this lineage by their names; Vipulaśrīmitra, who is commemorated in the inscription, erected a monastery for the Mitras. The composer of the inscription signs himself Kanakaśrī; presumably he is Vipulaśrīmitra's student and actually

[18] For an extended study of this site, see Sharkey (1994). [19] For the equivalence of Tib. *haṇ du* and *pañju*, see the text of Dharmasvāmin, where he notes that the priests of Bũgadyaḥ are called *haṇ du*. [20] On the modern Pañjus, see Locke (1980) and Owens (1989). By this argument, Lo Bue's conclusions about the identity of the Indian Śāntibhadra and the Newar Śāntibhadra in that same article are unjustified. However, there clearly was a process of assimilation which the Newars themselves appreciated; for an example, see 4.2.3 on page 106. [21] See also the history of Dharmarakṣita's home monastery, Ṣaḍakṣarī Bahā, in Locke (1985: 388).

Kanakaśrīmitra.[22] We know a Kanakaśrī from Tibetan sources (Lo Bue 1997: 653) who was a Newar incomer, born in Magadha and working at Vikramaśīla between 1038 and 1055, which agrees with the possible dates for this inscription. Although we know that the first person mentioned, Karuṇāśrīmitra, was resident at Somapura Vihāra, his origins and those of most of the others in this inscription remain a mystery. Perhaps the most famous teacher with this name-element is Mañjuśrīmitra,[23] one of Padmasaṃbhava's own teachers. In this case, however, the name divides into Mañjuśrī + mitra, denying us the possibility of claiming an illustrious ancestor for this lineage. We do find a Buddhaśrīmitra, identified by Tārānātha as Nepalese. However Naudou (1968: 200) is unsure of either his name or his origins. Tārānātha (1983: 66) also mentions a Jñānaśrīmitra, a teacher of Ātīśa. There is at least one other Śrīmitra, however, for whom we have useful biographical information. In the sixth chapter of the SvP as well as in Wright's chronicle we find the story of Dharmaśrīmitra. He is a Vikramaśīla pandit, specializing in the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*, who travelled through Nepal on his way to the mountain of Mañjuśrī —Wutai Shan in China or, in some versions, Svayaṃbhū itself — to ask Mañjuśrī the meaning of the 12 *āli akṣara*s in the MNS. Mañjuśrī, who has heard of his quest, comes to meet him in Nepal, disguised as a person plowing a field with a tiger and a lion.[24] Mañjuśrī explains the secret syllables to Dharmaśrīmitra and chides the pandit for not recognizing the true identity of his teacher. In at least one version (Wright), Mañjuśrī magically manifests Thã Bāhi (also known as Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra) in order that they should have a place for teaching. According to von Rospatt (1999), the story is included in the SvP in order to establish the link between the Svayaṃbhū caitya, the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* and Mañjuśrī himself; the chapter explains why Svayaṃbhū is a Dharmadhātu Vagīśvarakīrti maṇḍala. However, it may also preserve some historical details of the -śrīmitra lineage, as it links a -śrīmitra monk, Mañjuśrī, the Indian Vikramaśīla monastery, the Newar Vikramaśīla and Svayaṃbhū.[25]

4.2 Post-Pāla Indian Buddhism

4.2.1 The extent of Indian Buddhism

While the lengthy period of civil unrest beginning with the Afghan invasions from the late 12th century onwards in the Gangetic homeland of Buddhism did make it almost impossible for even the most ardent monks and pilgrims to continue there, it did not mark the end of formal state patronage for Buddhism or the demise of all Buddhist states. Dharmasvāmin's biography (Roerich 1959) describes a furtive life for monks and kings alike in the area near Varanasi. Buddhism nonetheless survived as a popular and as a state religion in a ring centred on the land of its genesis. Great Theravāda reforms redefined the state religions of Sri Lanka and mainland Southeast Asia between the 11th and 14th centuries. The Mahāyāna/Vajrayāna form of Indian Buddhism carried on in

[22] The element śrī is extremely common in monastic names from this time. By itself it indicates very little, although it may be the case that there are other combinations with śrī, such as -śrībhadra, which also indicate lineages of some sort. In the SvP, discussed just below, Dharmaśrīmitra is alternatively named as Dharmaśrī. From the Nālandā inscription we can be sure there is a lineage whose members are identified by this name-element, but when we find, as we frequently do, a monk or pandit with the final name element -śrī, in the absence of other evidence we cannot assume abbreviation and ascribe them to a lineage, e.g., the -śrībhadra or -śrīmitra lineages. It is also not clear what sort of name we are dealing with; it is probably a 'public' ordination name, rather than a secret Vajrayāna initiation name. This does affect the context in which such a name would be used or recorded. [23] Tib. 'Jam.dpal bShes.gnyen. [24] The lion is Mañjuśrī's traditional mount. [25] This story might also describe a link between Mañjuśrīmitra and the -śrīmitra lineage. There are also further Śrīmitras: Sunayanaśrīmitra, mentioned at Tucci (1933: 51), again a Vikramaśīla paṇḍit, and Vinayaśrīmitra (Naudou 1968: 147,9). Naudou seems to assume that -śrībhadra, -śrimitra and so forth are largely interchangeable; his index entries for such figures list all possibilities!

Kashmir, Nepal, Bengal, Indonesia and the Tamil country well into the 14th century.[26] Save for Nepal, however, only those polities which had undergone a Theravāda reform were able to sustain any form of Indic Buddhism as an institutionally potent religion after the 1400s.

4.2.2 Political patronage after Pāla

Between 1200 and 1400 it is possible to see the political position of Buddhism changing across the north of India. In the capital of Mithila, Tirabhukti or Tirhut, there is evidence that Buddhism had a position much like that in Kashmir: it was strongly supported, although not apparently the hereditary cult of the ruling dynasty.[27] Two miniatures from Cantab. add. 1643[28] show stūpas from Tirabhukti; Naropa is said to have taught there. Dharmasvāmin's encounter with the city and king of Tirabhukti clearly reflects the gradually polarizing attitudes towards religious diversity which characterize this period. For Dharmasvāmin, this was a country of unbelievers (Skt. *tīrthakarājyam*?, Tib. *mu stegs kyi rgyal khams* (Roerich 1959: p.10, f.10a)). When, on his return journey, he caught malaria and nearly died, he was treated by a student of his uncle who lived in Tirabhukti and was presumably a Maithili. After a long convalescence he happened to encounter the king. It was at this time that the king honoured him with substantial donations of food, clothing and so forth and offered him the post of royal preceptor (*rājaguru*), but Dharmasvāmin rather priggishly refused the offer, saying that he, a Buddhist, could not be the preceptor of a non-Buddhist.[29]

He thus demonstrated his ignorance of Indian systems of religious patronage. At about the same time, we find Buddhist rājagurus working in Buddhist polities, such as Ya 'rtse (Douglas 2002), as well as in those with Brahminical state cults such as Nepal. They work alongside Vedic ritual specialists and rājagurus affiliated to other cults, such as those of Śiva or Viṣṇu. The position was the political expression of the religious eclecticism which most Indian rulers followed out of expediency. The existence of a particular sectarian rājaguru tells us something about the population and religious institutions which that court had to manage, but very little about the core beliefs or rituals of that court, save that it followed the broadly Indian pattern of utilizing Vedic court rituals and patronizing those cults, sects or deities which were locally important. A good example for this can be found in the Rāmpāl copper plate of Śrīcandra, a minor ruler in Bengal, who makes abundantly clear his Buddhist beliefs, and subsequently goes to some trouble to cite the lineage of the Vedic priest he has employed to perform a ritual donation (Majumdar 1929). Even today the Thai royal rituals, for which we can reasonably assume continuity from the Pāla period,[30] depend on a vestigial group of Vedic ritual specialists although the national religion is Theravāda Buddhism.

Already in an Aśokan edict (Rock edict IV) we find mention of officers being appointed to oversee relations with diverse religious communities. By the 13th century, the position of rājaguru seems to have combined three different possible rôles, not all of which might be in play: a representative of the court in matters of patronage, a ritualist able to carry out sectarian rituals on behalf of the court and occasionally even a genuine religious preceptor who gave edifying moral instruction. The responsibilities of the rājaguru were, at least in Nepal, largely defined by the community or institu-

[26] Buddhism in southern India, especially the Tamil country, appears to have hung on until the 17th century. Several important South Indian shrines were absorbed with minimal reworking into Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva cults. Thus one finds that lorries prominently marked "Śrī Mañjunātha" ply the roads near the new Tibetan refugee monastic universities between Mangalore and Mysore. [27] According to Alexis Sanderson, it was often the queens in Kashmir who patronized Buddhism. (personal communication) [28] Foucher's numbering, 43 and 65 (Foucher 1900: pl. I.2, VII.1). Jamieson (2000: 64) has a lovely full page colour reproduction of 43. [29] *chos rjes kyed mu stegs kyi chos lugs la nga nang pa'i chos kyi bla mchod byed pa mi 'thad do*. As we will see below, this offer almost certainly means that there were still significant ritual sponsorship responsibilities incumbent on the king, and thus that Buddhism in Tirhut was still economically and socially important. [30] See Tambiah (1976: 87) and his preceding argument concerning Pāla → Khmer → Sukhodaya continuity. The Burmese monarchy also employed court Brahmins.

tions he had to manage. This is demonstrated by the existence of two different Buddhist rājagurus at once in the Brahminical court of Jayayakṣamalla in the 15th century. The Bengali Vanaratna, to whom we will return, was happy to take up the post of rājaguru at the Bhaktapur court, where his duties appear to have included religious instruction, general paṇḍit work and a bit of diplomacy with the Lalitpur Buddhists. At the same time, it would appear from inscriptions that the traditional Newar rājaguru of Kathmandu, whose affiliation would thus be to a nominally subject court under the Bhaktapur court, was carrying out his ritual obligations in the matter of Svayaṃbhū.[31] Alex von Rospatt's recent work has exposed the duties of the Kathmandu rājaguru as a manager at court, organizing patronage for renovations at Svayaṃbhū.

4.2.3 Nepal: 1050-1350

Judging by the evidence of Indian manuscripts recovered in the Kathmandu Valley, the inward flow of religious people and artifacts at the end of the 12th century was substantial. Well before 1200, as the Pālas were supplanted by the relatively intolerant Senas, shifting patronage patterns may well have caused a greater number of foreign scholars to settle in Nepal. Indeed, this is Lo Bue's point when he describes a category, found in Tibetan sources, of 'Newar' scholars not born in Nepal. The turmoil of the later 12th century and the destruction of the great monastic universities meant that that same community no longer had a choice: they had to flee, and Nepal is where may of them apparently went, taking their books with them.

Admittedly, dated manuscripts are few and the art of dating manuscripts by comparison is imprecise; but what we do know is that a number of Pāla manuscripts were brought to Nepal and Tibet. Many of the manuscripts which came to Nepal, the oldest of which are early 11th century, were given new covers in the late 12th century and 13th century.[32] At least one of these manuscripts was commissioned by a Newar, who visited the lowlands and then returned,[33] but most were produced for Indian patrons and only later shifted to Nepal. Impossible as it was to carry the monasteries or their central shrine images, the painted codices, which were themselves consecrated in the manner of divine images, were the most portable religious objects at a time of crisis. Once in Nepal, they were again established as cultic objects and used in ritual recitations.[34] This is well exemplified by the story of the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, brought from Bengal by a Brahmin widow, which was enshrined in Bu Bahāl (Wright 1877: 158-9).

It is clear that there was a well-defined local form of Indic Buddhism already in place, one which had developed alongside the high Pāla tradition. We might hope, therefore, to see changes in Nepalese Buddhism which reflect the mutual adjustments of the local and immigrant populations of Buddhist élites. While the most fruitful area for investigation here is probably the production of new texts and commentaries,[35] we can also see two developments within Nepalese Buddhist ritual practice. As this is the most conservative element in Newar Buddhism, and indeed their ritual conservatism is crucial to their own self-assessment, such changes ought to interest us.

Change in the *navadharma*

In chapter 2 above I introduced the *navadharma* or *navagrantha*, the set of nine texts which are used ritually to stand for the Dharma-jewel. In the next chapter (see page 136) we will consider the Amoghapāśa ritual fast and its textual sources in some detail; but I here anticipate that discussion in

[31] See Sakya and Vaidya, pp. 27-8 and the discussion in Locke (1985: 260 and n.10 on this, p. 498). [32] On Pāla manuscripts, see Losty (1982), Pal (1993) and Pal and Meech-Pekarik (1988). [33] LACMA M.72.1.20, described in Pal (1993: 56-7); although I suspect Pal's transcription of the term *nepālī*. [34] See, for example, LACMA M.72.1.24, in Pal (1993: 68-9). [35] For example, the *Kriyāsamuccaya*, *Kriyāsaṃgraha*, *Ādikarmapradīpa* and the commentary to the *Lokeśvaraśatakam* all date from around this time.

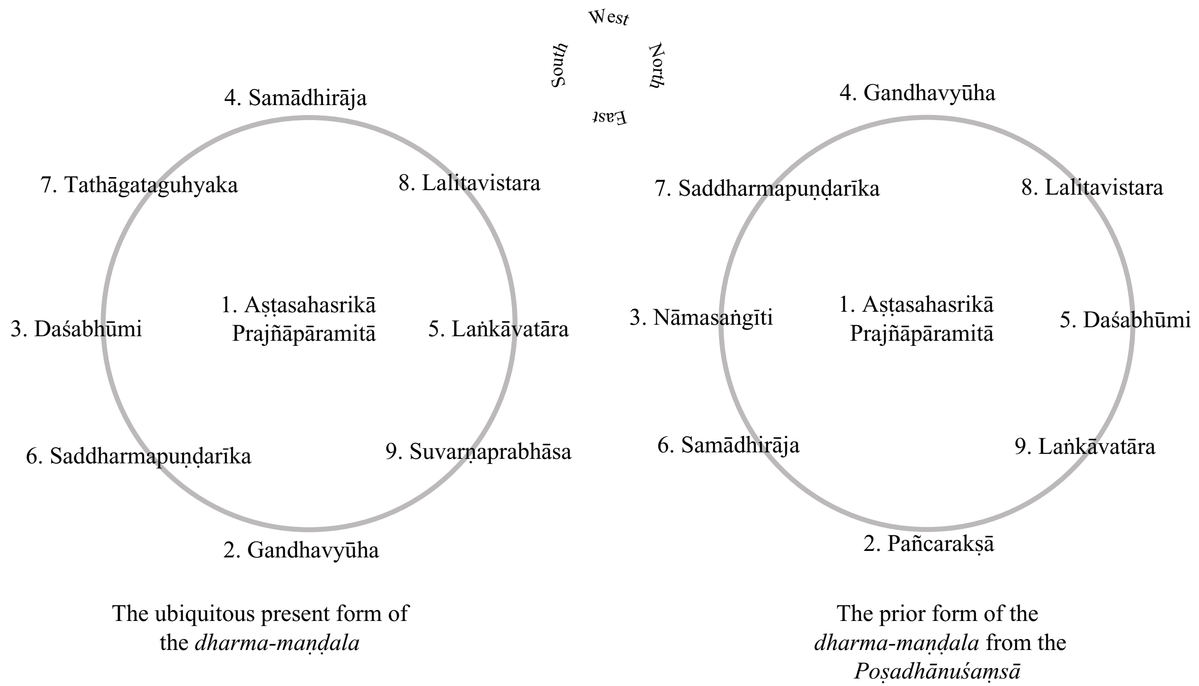


Figure 4.1: The changing *dharma-maṇḍala*

order to note an interesting historical development. So far as I know, attempts to prove an Indian parallel or precursor for this category have not yet been successful; no definitely Indian textual source for the Amoghapāśa vrata uses the arrangement of the three maṇḍalas that we find in the Nepalese case, and hence, the list of nine texts. By contrast there are several Indian and Tibetan sources describing forms of this ritual which do not mention the three maṇḍalas. It would seem, therefore, that the three maṇḍalas which represent the Three Jewels are an esoteric reflex of the general pattern of devotion to the Three Jewels that we find in Newar Buddhism. In any case, the list of nine texts, which apparently derives from this maṇḍala, has generally been taken to be fixed within Newar Buddhism and, as with many dubious deductions from the Nepalese evidence, also thought to be a feature of historical Indian Buddhism. However, there are at least two distinct forms of the Dharma-maṇḍala: one from an earlier text, the *Poṣadhānuśaṃsā*, and the later form which is found in most mediæval and modern handbooks. The two forms of the maṇḍala are illustrated at figure 4.1.

The texts are in an ordered list positioned on the maṇḍala as per the numbers on the diagrams;[36] and priority is awarded to the texts in the cardinal directions. The transformation from older to newer is as follows: the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* retains its place in the centre. The *Pañcarakṣā* and *Nāmasaṅgīti* are simply subtracted from the list, and the next three texts in the list move forward two notches to take their place. The *Laṅkāvatāra* is promoted to a place of importance in the north ahead of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, which falls into the southeast. Again, where we might expect to find the the *Lalitavistara* moving to the southwest, the *Tathāgataguhyaka*, a new entry, is inserted, leaving the *Lalitavistara* in the northwest. Finally the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, another new entry, is put in the northeast.

We are confronted by two possibilities. It is possible, just, that the list of Nine Dharmas, together with its ritual and iconographic context, was still new and unstable. Given the general antiquity of

[36] That is, centre, E, S, W, N, SE, SW, NW, SE.

the ritual complex surrounding Amoghapāśa, which dates back at least to the 7th century, and its relatively low and public status in the hierarchy of Vajrayāna rituals, it would be very strange indeed to find the most important ritual emerging between the 13th and 15th centuries. Rather, I think we are seeing an earlier stable list which was lost. Moreover, both of the other two parallel lists (those determining nine Buddhas and nine Bodhisattvas) are the same in the older work. This older form, with the *Pañcarakṣā* and *Nāmasaṅgīti*, accords much more closely with both mediæval and modern Nepalese Vajrayāna practices.[37] These two texts also fit well with the Amoghapāśa ritual corpus in Nepal, which inherits most of its iconography and ritual structure from a tradition unaffected by revisions to the Amoghapāśa material attributed to Śākyaśrībhadra and Bhikṣuṇī Śrī (on which see the next chapter). In terms of Vajrayāna stratigraphy, the *Amoghapāśasūtra*, *Pañcarakṣā* and *Nāmasaṅgīti* are all Kriyā or Caryā texts (although the *Nāmasaṅgīti* was subsequently re-classified as a non-dual Yoganiruttara text).

What would have provoked this change? It cannot be claimed that this development reflects recitation practices or changes in the popularity of texts, for manuscript and historical evidence both clearly show that the *Pañcarakṣā* and *Nāmasaṅgīti*, along with the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (which never appears in this list), remain the most frequently copied manuscript titles well into the 18th century. Certainly these two texts were the most popular in Pāla Buddhism, and their manuscripts together with that of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* dominate museum collections. The key, I believe, is to be found in the use of this list: it determines which codices will be laid out in a publicly visible maṇḍala as part of a monthly ritual performed by Buddhists of all degrees of learning.[38] This is a shift toward a more modest list suitable for public display, purged of esoteric elements.[39] The only ostensibly secret Vajrayāna text left in the later version is the *Tathāgataguhyaka*, but this name, consistently used by modern Newar Buddhists for the *Guhyasamāja*, originally referred to a Mahāyāna sūtra[40] and did so when the new textual list was first promulgated. It seems that this misnomer came into play long after the *Tathāgataguhyaka* was inserted into the list of Nine Dharmas. This is not to say that the *Pañcarakṣā* and *Nāmasaṅgīti* are never encountered in public spaces; both texts are, at least in contemporary Newar Buddhism, frequently seen and used in preliminary and apotropaic rituals.[41]

By contrast the present situation, where a highly transgressive Vajrayāna text is put forward in

[37] The *Nāmasaṅgīti*, as we saw in the story of Dharmaśrīmitra, is thought to be closely connected with Svayaṃbhū Mahācaitya. [38] The *Amoghapāśasūtra* insists on its universal accessibility, again a topic we will return to in the next chapter. [39] When I presented this hypothesis before members of the Lotus Research Centre in 2002, they were satisfied that this was a good explanation for a problem of which they too were aware. The only objection raised, by Hera Kaji Vajrācārya, was that the *Nāmasaṅgīti* had not always been regarded as a secret text; both at the time of Candragomin and in present day Nepal it is a perfectly 'safe' text to recite in public. For the period in question, however, the production of commentaries which treat the MNS as a yoganiruttara tantra would seem to satisfy that objection, and those commentaries are certainly regarded as secret texts by the Vajrācāryas. [40] The argument depends on a comparison of the text of the *Tathāgataguhyaka* as cited in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and the *Guhyasamāja* as we presently have it; the two texts are not similar. The *Tathāgataguhyaka* is a Mahāyāna text on developing the thought of enlightenment, while the *Guhyasamāja* is concerned with Vajrayāna systematics, visualizations and rituals. Joshi (1966), who noticed the error when reviewing Bagchi's reworking of Bhattacharya's GOS edition of the GST in the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts series, also points to a single manuscript in Mitra's catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal collection, "in the Newari character of the seventeenth century", which appears to be a copy of a manuscript of the *Tathāgataguhyaka* from NS 224 (1113-4 CE); and a search of the NGMPP catalogue suggests that there may be at least two more. Toru Tomabaechi, in Lausanne, is said to be preparing an edition of this text from the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese. However, there is so far as I know no complete surviving manuscript of the *Tathāgataguhyaka* in Nepal. At least one paper *Guhyasamāja* manuscript, unfortunately undated, is aware of the problem and in its colophon identifies itself as *śrītathāgataguhyābhidhānaḥ* alongside the term *guhyasamāja* (NA 207, *Bṛhatsucīpatra*, *Bauddhakhaṇḍa* I, p. 135-8). Chronology also argues against the equivalence of these two: when Śāntideva was writing his compendium, in the early 8th century, the *Guhyasamāja* was as yet unfinished (Matsunaga 1978: xxvi).
[41] See, for example, the illustration in Lewis (2000: fig 6.1, p. 156)

a public ritual, is a source of some embarrassment; while Brian Hodgson was made aware of the *Guhyasamāja* because of its place in the list of Nine Dharmas, he was successfully prevented from seeing a copy of the text for some years. Moreover the apparent failure of the original *Tathāgataguhyaka* to catch on in Nepalese Buddhism, and the present use of the *Guhyasamāja* in its place, suggests that this attempt to 'clean up' a public ritual was driven by scholars concerned with prurience, who were still familiar with a text that had been popular in Vikramaśīla but that had little, if any, popular use in the local traditions of Nepal.

While Vajrayāna imagery in India and Tibet tended, over time, towards increasingly expressive and startling formulations, here we find evidence that even well-known Vajrayāna texts were being withdrawn from public view. Whether we infer external pressure — a change in public tolerance for the exposure of more secret texts — or internal, felt, pressure leading to self-censorship, this development accords with the modern Nepalese Buddhist division of public and Mahāyāna in the visible realm, secret and Vajrayāna kept hidden. Unlike Tibetan Buddhists or the one-time scholars and monks of the great Pāla universities for whom Vajrayāna had no effective rivals, Nepalese esoteric Buddhists had to negotiate for limited patronage and limited public space with other religious and social groupings. The stratification of Buddhist practice and ideology into public, inner and secret domains is partly conditioned by this negotiation; where Vajrayāna Buddhism is not a dominant ideology, as in Nepal, it still serves this function.[42] An emphasis on secrecy serves both to avoid conflict and to establish communal identity in a densely crowded urban space.The spaces set aside for the performance of the Amoghapāśa fast in a monastery are public spaces; participants sit right around the courtyards, and images of Amoghapāśa are easy to see, unlike images associated with the Yogottara and Yoganiruttara stages of Vajrayāna, which are kept closed away even from many of the monastery's ordinary inhabitants.

To return to our original topic, can we see a significant influence from refugee scholars in this development? It would appear that the insertion of the *Tathāgataguhyaka* can be attributed to those who were familiar with the text, and thus to Indian-trained elite scholars or those in their teaching lineage. This may only expose an elite/non-elite division, rather than Indian/Nepalese. Similarly, the expunging of two otherwise comfortably well-known Vajrayāna texts would seem to indicate a kind of censorship which derived more from ideology than familiarity with ordinary practices, again, an elite or outsider position. Perhaps the most unusual aspect of this change is that it happened at all; there was someone with enough authority to change a popular monthly ritual. All this suggests that there was, indeed, some tension between the ordinary run of Nepalese Buddhist ritual and the scholarly elite at this time, although it is not possible to tie that scholarly elite directly to the refugees from the Indian monastic universities.

Change in the timing of the Bũgadyaḥ rathayātrā

John Locke, in his studies of the cult of Bũgadyaḥ, has argued that a change in the scheduling of the annual processions of the deity which occurred in the 17th century was due to a re-shaping of his cult by Śrīnivāsa Malla. This was part of a careful program of integrating the cult of Bũgadyaḥ into the developing independent city-state of Lalitpur. In religious terms, according to Locke, it resulted both in state recognition of the assimilation of the Śaiva deity Matsyendranāth to the Bũgadyaḥ cult, and in the adoption of a Buddhist *iṣṭadevatā* by the Lalitpur court.[43]

[42] There are interesting parallels in the development of Ambedkar Buddhism in the 20th century. In that context, where anti-'Hindu' sentiment is strong and associated with an objection to lush imagery, the teaching of more complex visualizations is again carefully managed; their very existence is publicly denied. (Interview with the abbot Mahāmati of the Dapodi Vihāra near Pune in 1997.) [43] We will revisit some of these conclusions in the next chapter, in particular those deriving from the assumption that the Nāth Yogis and Matsyendranāth were always Śaiva. There is a Nepalese Vajrayāna countertradition which seems to be old and supported by Tibetan evidence.

Locke (1980: 330) also notes, only in passing, that there was a previous shift in the timing of the procession of Bũgadyaḥ. In Dharmasvāmin's account, the first dated record we have, the procession takes place 'on the eighth day of the middle autumn month'; this would be *Kārttik śukla* 8. Locke follows Regmi's reading of the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī* (GRV) and puts Jayārimalla in Bũgamati for a *Vaiśākha* procession in 1313, but subsequent editing and research on this chronicle show that the entry is only to do with Ripumalla, the Khāsiya king, who was there in *Phālguṇa* for the bathing ritual of Bũgadyaḥ, in a manner consistent with previous members of his dynasty. However in 1337 we do have a specific reference to the procession of Bũgadyaḥ (GRV V2 49*kha*), now at *Āṣāḍha śukla 2* (early June); then in 1370 a further reference putting the procession at *Vaiśākha śukla 3* (late April); thereafter all references to the procession point to a late spring dating.[44] The procession is quite lengthy, and the two late spring dates could easily be part of the same ritual.

The problem, then, is that according to Dharmasvāmin we have the procession occurring on *Kārttikā śukla* 8 sometime in the 1220s or 1230s; but in 1337 and after, we find records for the procession of Bũgadyaḥ in late spring. It may be relevant that in the intervening years we have evidence of ritual worship being conducted in early spring by royal pilgrims from outside Nepal. More germane, I propose, is that the timing of the ordinary ritual of Amoghapāśa, the same *poṣadha* ritual or *aṣṭamī vrata* which concerned us just above, is always on the eighth day of the bright half of the month. Moreover the *mukhāṣṭamī*, the most important performance of this ritual and the date on which one begins a full year's sequence of observances, is *Kārttikā śukla* 8. This *tithi* is recommended in the GKV (I.165-6) and still forms the basis of contemporary Newar Buddhist practice. Given the close links between Amoghapāśa and Karuṇāmaya/Bũgadyaḥ, that a Bũgadyaḥ procession would happen on the same day is not surprising. Rather, once we discover that they were once scheduled for the same day the question becomes, why did it change?

Locke, who does not delve into this problem too deeply, wonders if it might be the result of an extended drought. If, however, we accept that there were multiple rituals occurring at Bũgamati each year, and that those various rituals were implicated in political rivalries, then something rather like Locke's own story of the seventeenth-century developments in the cult of Bũgadyaḥ emerges. Let us suppose that there were three, or even four, important ritual events in Bũgadyaḥ's calendar for the late 13th century. First we have a new year procession on *mukhāṣṭamī*, *Kārttikā śukla* 8. This is followed by a festival of bathing the image in the early spring. In late spring, there was a monsoon celebration at the time of the present procession. Finally there may even have been a fourth festival, on *Śrāvaṇa śukla* 8, for that date is given as an 'alternative best month' in the GKV.

While there is no direct evidence for a procession on *mukhāṣṭamī*, we do have considerable evidence for the bathing festival. I have elsewhere (Douglas 2002) discussed the relationship of the Khāsiya dynasty to the cult of Bũgadyaḥ. The historical records show them worshipping Bũgadyaḥ by washing him on several occasions from 1287 to 1334, always in the early spring (sometime between *Phālgun śukla* 7 and *Caitra śukla* 2). Our early evidence for Khāsiya patronage of this ritual in the 13th and 14th centuries is corroborated by subsequent evidence for a bathing ritual on *Caitra kṛṣṇa* 1 in 1673, 1709, 1712, 1718 and so on; it features in Śrīnivāsa Malla's long inscription setting out ritual arrangements (Locke 1980: 306-9, 317). While it is impossible, on the basis of the evidence of the chronicles, to pin down a precise date for the Khāsiya ritual, the evidence there strongly suggests that they were trying to adhere to some kind of a calendrical ritual; either they were prevented by the vicissitudes of a long march from Western Nepal from arriving on time, or the precise *tithi* may have moved around somewhat before settling down to *Caitra kṛṣṇa* 1. It is especially interesting in the light of the early Khāsiya kings' involvement with the bathing festival that in 1709 the bathing festival was threatened by the death of the king, "since it cannot be performed unless the king is present" (Locke 1980: 317). There is no record for this festival before the Khāsiyas, and for them it

[44] For a discussion of precise dates for all events to do with Bũgadyaḥ in this period see Douglas (2002)

was a royal ritual tied to the ritual calendar of their own court.

Thus the eighteenth-century ritual may be the Newar institutionalization of an originally Khāsiya ritual. If this were so, it would make more sense of both Jayasthiti's and Śrīnivāsa Malla's willingness to intervene in Bũgadyaḥ's ritual life generally; they each would have asserted the authority of the Lalitpur court, the ancient seat of the Newar kings, over a Buddhist ritual complex originally centred on the Lalitpur dominions. The bathing ritual is still performed, now understood (at least by outside observers) as a piece of the overall cycle whose culmination is the chariot procession. The dominant position of the late spring procession, for which we have evidence in royal chronicles of the Bhaktapur court, may well have been tied to the rise of the Bhaktapur court itself; as the Bhaktapur court under Devalladevī and especially Jayasthiti grew in influence, their patronage at a procession of their choosing, situated in the seat of the old dynasties, would have been an effective means both to express and increase their authority.

There is considerable evidence to support this theory. *Mukhāṣṭamī*, that is, *Kārttikā śukla* 8, is still the occasion for a popular four or five day fast in Bũgamati, and there is an inscription of Śrīnivāsa Malla from 1673 which mentions the fast. Although Locke claims "the fast has no direct connection with Bũgadyaḥ or Avalokiteśvara", there would seem, on historical and textual grounds, to be some relationship. Thus while the only date recorded for Malla participation in the Bũgadyaḥ festivities in the fourteenth-century chronicle of the Bhaktapur court is that of the late spring procession, evidence both from that time and from the 17th century suggests that there were significant ritual events happening both at the new year on *Kārttikā śukla* 8 and sometime in the dark half of *Phālguṇa* or *Caitra*. I propose that by the early 18th century, the new year's procession which Dharmasvāmin witnessed had atrophied, through competition with the late spring procession that the Bhaktapur court favoured. It had not, however, died out completely. The result of this shift in timing of the procession was to divorce the major annual procession of Karuṇāmaya/Bũgadyaḥ from the annual cycle of lay vows dedicated to him, which still begins on *mukhāṣṭamī*, *Kārttikā śukla* 8, the date of the now lost original procession.

By the time of Śrīnivāsa Malla, whether anyone remembered the original importance of the *mukhāṣṭamī* rituals or not, he was able to re-arrange the existing ritual calendar so as to bring Bũgadyaḥ to Lalitpur for part of the year. While the boldness of his interference in the ritual calendar is taken as an indication of his reforming zeal, viewed in this light his use of the ritual processions of Bũgadyaḥ as royal theatre has considerable precedent. If, as I will propose in the next chapter, his reworking of the cult of Bũgadyaḥ is partly the appropriation of a late Vajrayāna model of Buddhist kingship affiliated to the deity Amoghapāśa, then his reworking of the festival can be understood as a double re-appropriation of Bũgadyaḥ's cult, both from the Khāsiya and from the Bhaktapur courts.

4.3 Nepalese Buddhism at the time of the Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha

4.3.1 Looking for status after Jayasthiti

Modern Newar Buddhist lore, reinforced by chronicles of reasonable authenticity[45], makes much of the persecution of the Buddhists. Apologetic explanations of the status of the Newar Buddhist community often refer to the acts of the Indian reformer Śaṅkarācārya (d. 7th century) or the mediæval king Jayasthiti Malla. Thus in conversations I have heard both the present state of the

[45] Here I mean especially the so-called Buddhist Vaṃśāvalī (Cambridge add. 1951), translated as Wright's Chronicle (Wright 1877);[46] Padmagiri's chronicle, translated with a useful introduction in Hasrat (1971); and the GRV, a Śaiva court chronicle whose bias is precisely opposed to that of the BV (Vajrācārya and Malla 1985).

Vajrayoginī shrine above Śaṅkhu and the absence of any monasteries in Pharping blamed on his destructive visits to the valley; but as, on the one hand, my informants in Pharping could remember the names of some 10 lost monasteries and their locations, and on the other any well informed Newar Buddhist is aware that most of their monasteries were built long after Śaṅkara's death, it is clear that Śaṅkara functions more as a bogey man of the recent past than as a historical character.Gellner (1992: 86) observes that an influential Śaiva priest did visit in the 12th century, and may be the source of the later myths; he also figures explicitly in Wright's chronicle (1877: 152). Jayasthiti Malla is similarly used to explain the loss of the celibate saṅgha, which is said to have been eliminated as a part of his sweeping reforms of the legal code. Similar stories are found in Wright's chronicle (Wright 1877: 120,180). Gellner further notes that these stories are part of a joint mythology: the tantric Śāktas also blame Śaṅkara for a loss of patronage, and the Newar Brahmins claim that the Buddhist priests had been oppressing them before the arrival of their champion.[47] These sorts of account are nowadays often consigned to 'purāṇic' status, mythical history which expresses social facts but not necessarily historical ones. Recent historians have tended to doubt whether there ever was a concerted move by the throne to regulate the celibate Buddhist clergy, as asserted in the chronicles, and particularly whether such a move could be attributed to Jayasthiti.[48] Instead a gradual process of transformation is envisaged, from a celibate monastic order to a mixed celibate and married clergy, and then finally to a closed caste group of married religious specialists. So, for example, Gellner (1987) carefully brackets the 'ideological claim' (p. 47), put forward by some modern Newar apologists for the *bahī*s, that they are the surviving representatives of a 'purer' form of celibate Buddhism (e.g., p. 46), as well as their claim that their loss of celibate status can also be blamed on royal intervention. (pp. 26-7) Yet he does accept 'the gradual laicization of Newar Buddhism' as a general historical process, although from other evidence[49] it would seem that married professional religious were an ordinary feature of South Asian Buddhism from at least the 8th century onwards, and not one that developed to the exclusion of celibate monasticism. In short, there is good evidence for the co-existence of celibate and noncelibate religious among South Asian and Himalayan Buddhists well before the Malla period.

In order to understand the model of Buddhist society that the authors of the Garland Literature were trying to justify, then, we must carefully distinguish the decline of celibate monasticism from the historical presence, or even dominance, of married religious in the Kathmandu Valley. As Gellner shows in the study just cited, the *ideology* of celibate monasticism is presently growing in influence. Since the grafting of Theravada monasticism onto Nepalese Buddhism in the 1930s, and the subsequent declaration by Western scholars that Newar Buddhism is unique (and decadent) in

[47] A peculiar problem in the demography of the Newars, that they have remarkably few Brahmins, may be related to the recurring claim in Wright's chronicle that many Vajrācāryas were Brahmins. If the classifications of caste and religious preference were not strongly linked, then it would have been possible for many of the caste Brahmins in pre-1200 Nepal to have been practising Buddhists. Thus the relative paucity of Brahmins in modern Newar society would not indicate a general feature of Newar social stratification, but simply that much of the old genetic pool of Brahmins flowed into the modern caste of Vajrācāryas and Sakyas. A high proportion of Brahmins among the Buddhist sangha is a very old feature in Buddhism, going right back to the first converts. Corroboration many be found in the fact that many Newar monasteries or clans within monasteries claim brahminical origins. If this hypothesis is correct, the present situation, that because of a lack of qualified brahminical ritualists, Vajrācāryas are called to perform the death rituals for Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava families, may in fact not be a recent development. This hypothesis requires much further investigation and could not strictly be proved even with genetic analysis. [48] See Alsop (2001). [49] The life stories of the mahāsiddhas show a regular alternation between celibate and non-celibate lifestyles; in a somewhat extreme example, Tilopa resigned his professorship at Nālandā and moved in with a prostitute; but the lives of many of the key figures in mediæval Indian tantra included consorts or spouses, a pattern followed also by Vanaratna. This is not simply an Indian phenomenon; during the same period, reforms leading to the establishment of a married clergy took place in the circle of Saicho (767-822) in Japan.

that it lacks monks, celibate monasticism has been set polemically over against the traditional forms of Newar Buddhism. This in turn has changed the context for scholars both Nepalese and foreign studying the present state and evolution of the social forms of professional religious within the valley. Indeed, the entire question of celibacy may be a red herring.

4.3.2 Celibacy or brahminical status?

The complaint in Wright's chronicle is not just that the Buddhist celibates were forced to marry, but also that those who were not celibate lost their Brahminical status. The significance of this claim cannot be underestimated. Although Wright's chronicle is clearly based on older material, it was produced in order to back up legal claims about caste status and property rights being made before the law courts of the new Gorkha state in the 19th century. Here again, as in the 14th and 15th centuries, it seems that the Buddhists of the Kathmandu Valley found themselves on the defensive; they were seeking precedents to justify their parity with Newar Brahmins before a court which was inherently inimical to Buddhists. Crucially, then, the justification offered for their exemption from the caste classification under Jayasthiti (which would form precedent for the Gorkha court) was that they had once been Brahmins. This claim is made first within the story of Śaṅkarācārya's disastrous tour of Nepal:

> He sought out those those nuns dwelling according to the monastic rule on retreat and made them marry. Moreover, among the afflictions (visited upon) the householder ācāryas, he forcibly made (them) shave their topknots during the cūḍākarma; and in this way he made the ascetics and the householders the same. Furthermore, he destroyed their funeral rituals and threw away their sacred threads.[50]

In this passage, Śaṅkara is said to have coerced two separate groups of Buddhist religious: those who were renunciants and those who were householders. The specificity with which the text refers to both funeral rituals and the sacred thread reinforces the case that these people were ritually correct Brahmins up to this point. This episode is then referred to as a justification used in the formulation of Jayasthiti's legal reforms:

> In the opinion of Kīrtināth and the other paṇḍits[51], concerning the Vajrācāryas: Formerly, in the Tretā Yuga in Nepal, Krakucchanda Buddha made monks of Brahmins and Kṣatriyas. Subsequently, after the time of Śaṅkarasvāmin, they turned away from the monastic rule and were subject only to householder's dharma. As it says in the śāstra, "A monk who renounces the home [and] again resumes [it] is called *vajradhṛk*."[52] First one is a celibate student and studies all the texts; then a householder; then a vow-holding renunciant in forest retreat; then again one gives up the monastic way and returns to householder life to raise children and grandchildren.[53] (...) Śaṅkara made [them]

[50] Manuscript Cantab 1951 f. 48b. Translation mine; the text is problematic. *bhikṣukadharmamā vasī rahyākī bhikṣunīmātrāharu ṣojī 2 [= khoji khoji] lyāi vivāha garāi diyā . gṛhastha ācāryaharulāi pani . balai sita cūḍākarmamā ṭopī hyeta? muṃḍana garnu paryā garī diyā esto prakārale vāṇaprastha ra . gṛhastha varāvara garau diyā . kriyākarmamā pani dhvaṃsa garī . janai pani cyaṭī liyāo.* Compare Wright (1877: 119) [51] This refers to the five paṇḍits whom Jayasthitimalla consulted when reworking the legal code, two of whom were Maithili Jhas, two Mahārāṣṭrian Bhaṭṭas and one a Kānyakubja — that is to say, at least four of them (according to the chronicle) were foreign. See Levy and Rājopādhyāya (1992: 352-3, 346-7) for the Kānyakubjas. Kīrtināth, at least, was a very influential figure with considerable financial responsibility; see GRV 59ka. [52] That is, becomes a Vajrācārya. This indicates the Vajrayāna identification of the practitioner with Vajradhara. [53] While no Vajrācārya today follows such a course of training (the period of monastic initiation takes place during childhood and is never repeated) this pattern is close to that followed, for example, by Nyingma lamas, who must undergo a three year retreat as adults, typically with dependents. Did the Newar Vajrācāryas once follow such a course, as the passage suggests, or was this model simply borrowed to write a plausible history?

> give up just the monastic dharma. (...) But their dharma is a dharma which the four varṇas respect; and, as they were once brahmins and kṣatriyas [so] they are [to be taken] together with [the brahmin and kṣatriya varṇas]. (...) In all [these things]: dharma, conduct, rituals, marriage and diet, they are equivalent. It is a properly constituted caste ...[54]

This passage was clearly carefully designed to appeal to its intended audience, the jurists of the Gorkha court, before whom Vajrācāryas were attempting to defend their status.[55] The argument is complex. The text claims a favourable judgment from the paṇḍits who advised Jayasthiti, a judgment which should have the weight of precedent for the Gorkhas. Those wise paṇḍits, in turn, accepted the history given in our first passage as well as elsewhere in the chronicle, and considered that both in terms of their caste-defined origins in a previous age[56] and the brahminical status which was stripped from them by Śankarācārya, the *Vandya*, which I will here translate as Vajrācārya, are by descent equivalent to brahmins and kṣatriyas even if they no longer have the thread. Rather deftly, the argument suggests that Śaṅkara only made them give up the monastic stage of a much more complex *āśrama* system. Moreover, even though Śaṅkara was said in the prior passage to have ruined their funeral rituals, there is a list of constituents of jāti identity here—laws, conduct, ritual, endogamy and diet—and the Vajrācāryas are so pure in their present conduct as to be respected by the four varṇas and their equal. Thus, Jayasthiti's paṇḍits decide, they are to be treated as brahmins and kṣatriyas.

The debate as framed in the early 19th century is as much about the loss of the Brahminical thread, because lawmakers refused the category of a Buddhist Brahmin, as it is about the deliberate laicization of the celibate religious.[57] Thus when we turn to the 15th century we should not expect to see the issue of celibacy as the most prominent feature in the struggle for legitimacy. The problem, rather, is parity with the opposed group of religious professionals, the brahmins.

[54] f. 107b-8a. Compare Wright (1877: 184-5) I have not translated the entire passage, but what I have translated demonstrates the thrust of the argument. *kīrtināthopadhyāya gaihra paṇḍitaharukā vicārama . baṃdyaharu bharyo . aghi dekhi yas nepālamā tretāyugaimā krakucchanda buddhale . brāhmaṇa ra . kṣatriyaharu bhikṣu garī gayā hun . pachi śaṃkarasvāmīkā pālo dekhin . bhikṣudharmabāṭa punar āvṛttyā bhai . gṛhasthadharmamāvasyākā mātra hau || || śāstramā bhanyā || || pravrajyo grahaṇān bhikṣuḥ punar āhṛtya vajradhṛk bhani . pahile brahmacāri bhai sakala śāstra pahri sakyā pachi . gṛhastha dharmamā vastu ra . taspachi pravrajyā vratalī vāṇaprastha vanavāsī bhikṣur hunu(?) . taspachi . pheri bhikṣudharmabāṭa . punar āvṛttya . pharkī āī . putralāi gṛhasthyā samamā rākhī . pautra . nātīko mukha darśana garī . saṃsārikagṛhasthadharmamā yā choḍi nirvṛti yogamā rahanu . yasto garnu sakyā . tastalāi buddhapada pāunyā vajrācārya arhat bhikṣu bhanu bhani kahi gayā ko ho || tasmā . śaṃkarasvāmīle . bhikṣudharmabāṭa mātrai punar āvṛttyā garāi . saṃsārikagṛhastha [108a.1] dharmamā lagāi diyā ra . pherī . saṃtāna hunālle . parivārakā nimitta yo yo kām garnu sakyā so so kā garī rahyākā hun || tara uniherukā dharma caturvarṇale pūjyaka dharma hun . aur . uniharu brāhmaṇa vā kṣatriya bhayo pani ekai hun . ke hi pharka chaina dharma karma kriyā vihā dālabhāt sabai varāvarai chan saṃskarita jāti rahecha au saṃnyāsiharu pani testai chan bhāni vaṃdyharukā ra saṃnyāsiharukā jāt atirnaya garnu chaina bhani.* I have made small emendations where necessary.

[55] Their failure to do so can be seen in the Muluki Ain, and, eventually, in the present constitution of Nepal, which insists on its identity as a Hindu kingdom. This may change in the next few years as a result of poluar agitation.

[56] There is ambiguity here: were the Vajrācāryas all originally brahmins, were some kṣatriyas, or is it the patron Buddhist jātis that are being assigned a kṣatriya background? There may be a two-tiered assignment of jāti background which parallels the bāhāl/bahī distinction noted by Gellner. If this is so, then a distinction is being made between permanently celibate Buddhist renunciants, of kṣatriya stock, and the householder Buddhist ritualists, for whom there is a period of retreat, and who are descended from brahmins. The careful inclusion of the two types in one jāti suggests that this is a model which fits householders and ascetics into one jāti of professional Buddhist religious.

[57] For an eighth century parallel to this story outside Nepal, see the biography of the Mahāsiddha Saraha (Dowman 1985: 66ff), whose conflict with his fellow Brahmins resulted in the king ordaining that they should all take up Buddhism, although there is no implication that they became monks. Note also the various Brahmins who recur in Wright's chronicle as Vajrācāryas; for example, the Bengali immigrant widow who brought the Prajñāpāramitā to Bu Bāhal (pp. 158-9).

Vanaratna's account of life in the mid-15th century clearly shows that the Buddhist priests saw themselves as rivals of the Brahmins in a court context, and indeed usually as the losers. While there is no evidence from Vanaratna that the most powerful king in the valley at the time of his residency, Jayayakṣamalla, used legal frameworks to disenfranchise Vajrācāryas, he did intervene in disputes between the two sides of the priestly community.

4.3.3 How fared Buddhism?

As now, so in the fifteenth century: it appears that the question of religious identity was largely confined to religious professionals.[58] Vanaratna observes that "Local people did not make much distinction between supporting Buddhist and non-Buddhist religion."[59] *Yul mi* is distinct, in his account, from Buddhists (*nang pa*) and Brahmins (*bram zi*). Vanaratna attributes the relative weakness of the Buddhists directly to the religious preferences of the king and the influence of court Brahmins. He notes first that "the religion of the royal house in Bhaktapur was *tīrthaka*",[60] then says that "due to the king's might, by comparison (to the Buddhists) the Brahmins' reputation had increased."[61].

He then goes on to tell the story of a Buddhist who happened to have a statute of Harihari-harivāhana Lokeśvara in his house. This enraged a particular Brahmin, who complained generally and made such a fuss that the problem was taken to Jayayakṣamalla. He responded by staging a formal debate at court which the Brahmins were expected to win, at least until Vanaratna stepped in on the side of the Vajrācāryas. This intervention was denounced as unfair by the Brahmins. Vanaratna had already helped the Brahmins sort out their dance-drama (New. *pyākhã*) by translating and clarifying the Sanskrit (f. 36A.2-3). When he came in on the side of the Buddhists in this debate, the Brahmins objected, saying "The Paṇḍit belongs to all of us!" [62] The Brahmins then refused to debate, and the issue was regarded as irresolvable (f.38A5-38B4). Vanaratna's role in this crisis led to Jayayakṣamalla asking for his services as a *rājaguru*. Vanaratna wrote poetry for the Bhaktapur court and gave the king instruction in Buddhist doctrine. The king, under Vanaratna's influence (or at least so the biography would have it) did not convert to Buddhism but did agree, finally, to treat both traditions well.[63]

4.3.4 On political authority in the Valley

While Petech and Regmi agree that Jayayakṣamalla was the last of Jayasthiti's descendants to singly rule the Valley, Vanaratna appears to have dealt with several different authorities in the Kathmandu Valley. He uses the Newar, Sanskrit and Tibetan words (*'dzu.'dzu*= New. *juju*; Skt. *rājā*; Tib. *rgyal.po*) almost interchangeably to describe these people. This would indicate that he was following local conventions. He attached himself to the court of Jayayakṣamalla, the pre-eminent court of the era. Yet any sense that there were a number of ceremonial rulers but only one real ruler is dispelled by the substance of his interactions. Thus on arrival in the Valley, in Yambu (northern Kathmandu), he proceeded to Stham Vihāra (modern Thaṃ Bahī) and was there met by a great number of students. Subsequently he took up residence in Yerang (Lalitpur); and he found favour and indeed work as a court paṇḍit in Khvapa (Bhaktapur). No mention is ever made of a king in Yambu; but subsequently

[58] See the discussion in Gellner (1992: 41ff.) and especially the diagram on p. 71. [59] 38A.4 *yul mi byin la'i 'phyi nang gi phyogs ris tsam med.* [60] f. 36A1: *'di yang kho po na rgyal po rigs chos kyis phyi rol pa yin pa dang.* *kho po* or *kho pa* = Newari *khvapa*, Bhaktapur. [61] f 38A4-5: *rgyal po'i stobs kyis bram zi dpe shed che wa tsam 'grag pa la.* [62] f. 38B.4: *ha re pa ṇḍi ta thams cad kyi lha yin.* [63] *lugs gnyi(s) ga la bzad pa byed*

we find the phrase "the three kings of Bhaktapur and Lalitpur".[64] Jayayakṣamalla is clearly the king in Bhaktapur; who are the others?

The king of Lalitpur, according to our source, was one Jayapāla, who recognized Vanaratna's virtue and learning, and invited him to the city. His authority, however, was rather limited. The next sentence reads, "Three [members] from the Licchavi dynasty, [named] Yakṣasena and so forth, granted [him] the monastery of Gopicandra."[65] Jayapāla, or indeed a Pāla dynasty in Lalitpur, is otherwise unknown.[66] The three Licchavis are almost certainly *mahāpātra*s, the oligarchs of Lalitpur.[67] The exact status of the mahāpātras is now the subject of detailed research by Nepalese historians,[68] but it would seem that their real power was not much suppressed under Jayayakṣamalla and can be dated to well before 1520, the date that is usually given for their assumption of authority in Lalitpur (Regmi 1968: I.258). Here, sometime in the later 1420s[69], we see that not only is there a distinct king in Lalitpur, who may only have the power of a Lord Mayor in inviting Vanaratna, but the mahāpātras already have the right to assign monasteries and lay claim to a far more ancient lineage than the Bhaktapur kings. This is certainly not the first time they appear in the historical records as potent figures; there is a land grant noted by Regmi (1968: I.260-1) of 1383 in which the mahāpātras are clearly in control of land assignment within Lalitpur. However, the continuity of their autonomy over against the Bhaktapur Mallas is established by this account.

No third king is ever mentioned. It is just possible that the phrase *rgyal po gsum* is simply a translation of *trayorājya*, the usual term to described monarchy shared among three brothers. This happened at the outset of Jayayakṣamalla's father's reign, and there is some evidence that he wished to make a similar arrangement among his sons (Petech 1984: 180), but there were not, so far as we presently know, any siblings ruling together with Jayayakṣamalla; nor was there a *trayorājya* in place at the end of his father Jyotiṣamalla's reign. It cannot be a habitually used term, for we just as often find the throne shared between two siblings, a *dvayarājya*.

Confirmation that this was not a mistake on Vanaratna's part can be found in an independent source, the only surviving Nepalese evidence for the presence of Vanaratna. This is a painting now

[64] f. 41A.3: *kho pon dang ye rang gi rgyal po gsum*. This phrase, for all its difficulties, confirms Petech's hypothesis that Kathmandu (Kantipur) did not become a city equal in stature to Lalitpur or Bhaktapur in the valley until it acquired its own king in 1484. Yambu and Yaṅgal, the northern and southern sections, were originally independent towns that coalesced. The context for this citation— negotiations between Tibetan and Nepalese court officials over where Vanaratna will live and work—shows clearly who has authority over Vanaratna in this sphere, for a bribe offered to Bhaktapur sorts out the situation and Vanaratna is allowed to go to Tibet for a two year period. [65] *ye rang gi rgayl po dza ya pā las de'i tshul rig na ye rang du spyan drangs . li tsatsa vi'i rgyal rigs dza ks.a se nas sogs gsum gyis dpal go bi ca ndra'i gtsug lag khang chen po phul bas .* (dza ← ja ← ya) [66] The only Jayapāla noticed in standard Nepalese historical works is the Bengali Pāla king Jayapāla, obviously not the right person. This Jayapāla might have been one of Jayayakṣamalla's sons (or even a younger brother, given that we are very early in Jayayakṣamalla's reign) operating under a different name, but this is not supported by any of the names for male relatives of Jayayakṣamalla so far recorded. There is a Jayasiṃhamalla recorded from 1429 (Regmi 1968: I.259); however, as we will see, *-siṃha* often indicates a mahāpātra. [67] The other possibility, that they are the elders of the monastery, is unlikely in as much as they are claiming royal ancestry for themselves (rather than the monastery) and Vanaratna is not invited to the monastery but simply given it. Moreover we know that there were usually three mahāpātras chosen as oligarchs from among seven specific families. See Regmi (1968: I.423) and Vajrācārya (2019 VS: 77). However, the mahāpātras recorded for this period tend to have the nominal suffix *siṃha* or *siṃhavarman*, which we do not see here; nor have I been able to find a Yakṣasiṃha or Yakṣasiṃha. There was a mahāpātra by the name of Yekuli active around 1415. [68] I look forward to the thesis of Maniś Vajrācārya, currently working at the Lotus Research Centre in Lalitpur. [69] Unfortunately we have very few precise dates within the Vanaratna biography; but he was granted the use of Gopicandra Mahāvihāra before his first attempt to visit Tibet. He arrived in Nepal in 1421-2 and made his first foray towards Tibet some six years later, around the time that Jayayakṣamalla became the sole ruler in Bhaktapur.

held in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art which depicts Vanaratna distributing alms.[70] There is also a copy of this painting, made when it was in better condition, now held at the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan in Varanasi, that preserves the complete inscription; the inscription was composed after Vanaratna's death. GV Vajracharya, in his discussion of the complete inscription, bridles at a phrase which refers to "all the kings of Nepal". He proposes, then rightly abandons, the thought that this might refer to some of the other Himalayan rulers in the region, but simply dismisses the possibility that it might refer to more than one king within the Valley. However this multiplicity of monarchs is exactly what Vanaratna himself describes.

I cannot, on the basis of my work and understanding of others' researches so far, propose an easy identification or explanation for the three kings. Two of them, it is clear, were the kings of Bhaktapur and Lalitpur; perhaps the third was the Banepa rāja who did retain real power into the generation before Jayayakṣamalla; or perhaps it was only a ceremonially important relic of the Deopatan rāja. What is apparent, however, is that the work of Regmi and Petech, among others, who strive to establish a history of strong central rulers in the Valley, is flawed, at least for this period. What we see instead is a more powerful king, Jayayakṣamalla, who attracts to his court ritual specialists and in whose presence religious debates occur. While his patronage is desirable his authority is not by any means uncontested; other kings are found, and within traditionally Buddhist Lalitpur we find that the king there is far more welcoming to Vanaratna. Even within Lalitpur, however, real power resides with a group of princelings or oligarchs who claim descent from the Licchavis, thus combining a claim to Nepalese antiquity and ancient Buddhist roots.

Such a system of concentric and nested circles of authority, the familiar maṇḍalas of Kauṭilya, is in fact a more natural form of political authority in South Asia than a 'unifying ruler'. The carefully staged public gestures of Jayasthiti, who had to work the public processions of Bũgadyaḥ to win authority, show the process of extending authority outwards. By the time of his grandson we see Vanaratna being welcomed with the grant of a monastery in Lalitpur and subsequently challenging the hostile Brahmins of the encompassing court at Bhaktapur. Vanaratna is working within both courts, it would seem, although clearly the Bhaktapur court is dominant. Moreover, even though he challenged an important legitimation strategy, the Bhaktapur court was prepared to compete actively with other courts, notably Tibetan ones, to retain Vanaratna's services;[71] thus he was as useful to the court as the court to him. This may have been precisely because he carried the same sort of external authority as the Maithili Brahmins, and was moreover highly respected by several important constituencies, not all of whom would have accepted the Bhaktapur court's legitimacy easily.

I mentioned above (4.2.2) the question of multiple rājagurus. There would have been Brahmin ritualists and probably also Brahmin temple administrators as well, given Jayayakṣamalla's activities in reorganizing Paśupatināth and building new religious structures. At any one time there might have been at least two Buddhist rājagurus, one acting as an advisor, as did Vanaratna, and one adminstrative. From a *thyāsāphū* (Sakya and Vaidya 1970: 27) we know that a Newar Vajrācārya rājaguru from the Sikhaṃmuguḍi Bāhal lineage was in post in 1331. This office, discussed at some length in von Rospatt (2000: 257-9), was apparently associated with the Kathmandu court when it was independent but gravitated to whichever court became dominant.

4.4 Conclusions

[70] This painting and its later copy have been the subject of some debate. Although here I take issue with G. Vajrācārya's assumptions, in general his work on the painting has been more reliable that of some other contributors. See inter alia: Vajracarya (1987) and Pal (1985: 236-7). [71] See, for example f. 41A, where the competition for Vanaratna's services extended to bribing the Bhaktapur rāja.

My purpose in this chapter has been to sketch the prevailing political climate within which Vajrayāna Buddhism had to survive in the fifteenth century and the sorts of claims its representatives would be likely to advance at court. Both later Buddhist chronicles and outside observers describe the period from Jayasthiti onwards as a time of oppression for the Vajrācāryas. Several sources suggest that before 1300 the notions of 'Indic Buddhism' and 'Buddhist brahmins' were unproblematic. These two notions were fundamental to the self-perception of Nepalese Vajrācāryas, and in the subsequent centuries they protested when these categories were attacked. The narrowing of the category of Indic religions to exclude Buddhism can be located fairly crisply; Dharmasvāmin was offered the post of Buddhist rājaguru in the Maithili court at Tirhut in the thirteenth century, but in the fourteenth century Maithili priests, imported to help legitimate the fledgling Bhaktapur court, were inclined to exclude Buddhism. A much later chronicle, seeing this as a crucial moment in the decline of the legitimacy of Buddhism, recast them as correctly recognizing the parity of Vajrācāryas and Brahmins.

In the fifteenth century the Bhaktapur court brahmins found the very idea of a Buddhist paṇḍit upsetting and were party to the public embarrassment of a household where controversial Buddhist images were kept. Support for Buddhism was far stronger in the court of Lalitpur, where Vanaratna was welcomed and given a monastery in which to live and teach. This may have been in part an act of resistance to Bhaktapur hegemonic claims. Vanaratna was able to rectify the official Bhaktapur court dramas and also had Newar, Indian and Tibetan students working with him; intellectual and spiritual gestures on a trans-Nepalese scale must have raised the prestige of the Lalitpur court. This can be compared to the Banepa[72] court's diplomatic exchanges with the Chinese authorities in the late fourteenth century, from which the Chinese formed an impression of Nepal as a Buddhist state. Petech is at pains to downplay this record, but if, as we have seen, under Jayayakṣamalla political authority was in fact highly decentralised, there is more reason to give credence to the notion of the Banepa court as viable rivals to Bhaktapur. Indeed, given such a political environment, if both the Lalitpur and Banepa courts portrayed themselves as Buddhist in dealings with Chinese, Tibetan and Indian figures, it may help to explain why the Bhaktapur court under Jayasthiti and Devalladevī would have looked initially to Maithili Śaiva rājagurus to help assert its position.[73] However, when offered the alternative and equally prestigious services of a Bengali Buddhist paṇḍit, Jayasthiti's grandson Jayayakṣamalla was very happy to employ him. We may take Jayayakṣamalla's employment of the Bengali Vanaratna, and the concessions this king eventually made towards the legitimacy of Buddhism, as a sign of the 'Newarisation' of a court which had in its origins looked to Indian priests for legitimation. Vanaratna was also an Indian priest, albeit Buddhist, and moreover one who was apparently better able to translate from Sanskrit to Newari than his Brahminical counterparts. It was very much a case of the right man at the right time.

[72] On the Rāmavarddhanas, who formed a viable alternative to the Bhaktapur court up to the reign of Jayayakṣamalla's father, see Regmi (1968: I.382-409) and various discussions in Petech (1984) and Vajrācārya (1965). [73] That is, beyond the explanation derivable from Petech's hypothesis that Jayasthiti was in fact a descendent of the vanquished Tirhut dynasty.

Chapter 5

Amoghapāśa and the Poṣadha vrata

The GKV has as two of its central purposes the promotion of a lay ritual, the Poṣadha vrata, and the celebration of the particularly Newar form of Avalokiteśvara governing this ritual in Nepal, Karuṇāmaya. In this chapter, I will lay out the history of the Mahāyāna Poṣadha vrata and the form of Avalokiteśvara with whom it originated, Amoghapāśa. As will become apparent, Amoghapāśa is a relatively early tantric form of Avalokiteśvara who appears to have enjoyed something of a renaissance in the last phase of Indian Buddhism. He is a source for, and identified with, Karuṇāmaya. However, the ritual structure of the Poṣadha vrata in Nepal is more complex than its Indian precursors, and continues to develop under the Vajrācāryas.

Key questions. For the study of the GKV in its Nepalese context, there are two questions to do with Amoghapāśa and his rituals which I hope to clarify and address in this chapter. First, the Nepalese Poṣadha vrata, so central to the GKV, has an elaborate ritual structure which is first detectable in a text whose earliest manuscripts are 14th century, the *Poṣadhānuśaṃsā*. Although certain elements of the ritual do change by the time of the *Aṣṭamīvratavidhāna*, perhaps a seventeenth-century text, what is striking is the comparative simplicity of this ritual in the available Indian sources. Is the form of the Poṣadha ritual as we see it in Nepal a Newar innovation, and if so, when does it arise?

Second, Avalokiteśvara as he is presented in the GKV is a complex and layered person, in whom Amoghapāśa appears not to play a major role, although the Poṣadha vrata that he governs is crucially important, and we know from other evidence that the particular cultic image of Avalokiteśvara around which the text is practically centred is unquestionably Amoghapāśa. Does the GKV, therefore, contain an attempt to restructure the contemporary understanding of the relationship between Amoghapāśa and the Poṣadha vrata?

Third, why does the GKV recommend the Poṣadha as it does, and can we establish any context for comparing this to other local developments in Mahāyāna Buddhism?

In order to address these questions, we will survey the surprisingly complex history of Amoghapāśa and his ritual. He is, as it turns out, a figure whose development closely parallels that of the Vajrayāna as a whole. Along the way I hope to shed light on the earliest origins of Amoghapāśa, to call attention to the complex way in which local deities can be constructed from types and figures available in the regional culture, and to sharpen the debate about the relationship between the Buddhism of Nepal and its broader historical context.

5.1 Sources

The key sources for this chapter are the *Amoghapāśahṛdayasūtra*, known in Nepal as the *Amoghapāśasūtra* (AmS); two small works by Śākyaśrībhadra on the Poṣadha found in the bsTan 'gyur; the *Poṣadhānuśaṃsā*,

an early Nepalese ritual handbook; the *Aṣṭamīvratavidhāna*, a later ritual handbook used by the Vajrācāryas in Nepal today; the *Kriyāsamuccaya*, a Vajrayāna ritual handbook; and two mediæval Newar Sanskrit texts, the GKV and the BhKA. We will also consider several images of Amoghapāśa.

5.1.1 The *Amoghapāśasūtra* and its descendents

The most important Indian text for the Nepalese tradition is the *Amoghapāśasūtra* (AmS). The larger and later text of which it forms the first chapter, the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* (AmK) was popular in Central and East Asia, but appears never to have been influential in Nepal. Until recently the larger text was thought to survive only in translation, but after the recovery of the only palm leaf manuscript, from Sa sKya monastery in Tibet, a team based at Taisho University produced a facsimile of the manuscript and has since been releasing the edited transcript as a series.

The AmS was first translated into Chinese in 587, by Jñānagarbha. Three more translations followed in the 7th century,[1] but the larger AmK was not translated until between 707-9 by Bodhiruci. The gap of 120 years between the translation of the AmS and the AmK (of which the AmS is the first chapter) suggests that the AmK is a later expansion of the AmS.

The *Amoghapāśasūtra*, also known as the *Amoghapāśahṛdayadhāraṇī* or the *Amoghapāśanāmahṛdaya Mahāyāna Sūtra*, is the object of a masterful critical edition by Meisezahl (1962). He determined that there were two versions of the text, of which the earlier recension, dating to the 8th century, is largely lost. The oldest Sanskrit manuscript is a palm leaf codex at Cambridge which he dates, on palæographic evidence, to the 12th century. This agrees, as do all other Nepalese Sanskrit manuscripts, with the newer Tibetan translation in the bKa' 'gyur. However, the earlier recension, which is not represented in the modern line of the Sanskrit manuscript tradition, is preserved not only in a Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript and a Chinese translation, but also in a partial Sogdian manuscript and two transcriptions of the dhāraṇī section only in siddham and Tibetan scripts.

Meisezahl was not able to consult two Nepalese manuscripts, one of which is a palm leaf text dated in its colophon to NS 481 (1361 CE). I have collated these manuscripts against his edition, and they add nothing to his existing edition. The palm leaf manuscript is a precursor to one of his later manuscripts and does not reflect the older recension of the text.

Summary of the AmS

For what is to follow, a summary of the AmS will be very helpful. It is a text of the kind which eventually, when Vajrayāna was systematized, was relegated to the Kriyātantra, the lowest level. It opens with a short scene-setting: the Buddha is preaching on Potalaka to many godlings and such beings. Avalokiteśvara stands up and offers to teach them a short vow and recitation which will cleanse all evil and in particular, relieve the suffering caused by various diseases. The worth of reciting and teaching this text, even of whispering it into the ear of an animal, is emphasized. If a noble, a monk or nun, a lay Buddhist, or any other being fasts on the 8th day of the bright half of a lunar month,[2] various benefits will accrue, such as wealth, popularity and so forth; also, the ability to choose the Buddha-field in which one is reborn after death. (One thing the text does *not* offer, however, is rainfall.) There follows the dhāraṇī itself, which is long and contains minimal iconographic information; there is no discussion of colour, the number of arms or heads, &c. Then come instructions for preparing medical and protective charms, and a closing section which rather

[1] Taishō 1093, Jñānagarbha, 587; T 1094, Hsuan Tsang, 659; T 1095, Bodhiruci, 693; T 1098, Amoghavajra, date unsure; T 1099, Shih-hu, 11th century. See the summary at Meisezahl (1962: p. 272). [2] See 5.4.1 on page 132. While the text nowhere lists the eight fasting precepts we may presume that the use of the word *upavāsa* implies taking these vows. Subsequent commentaries and revisions of the ritual usually explicitly describe the taking of the fasting precepts.

hastily describes how to paint the image, arrange the offerings and perform the fast. This ritual material was the locus for elaboration when the much longer *Amoghapāśakalparāja* was composed.

5.1.2 Minor Indian Amoghapāśa texts

There are several smaller texts of Indian authorship devoted to Amoghapāśa preserved in the bKan 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur. The Sanskrit originals appear lost, although Nepalese or Tibetan manuscript hoards may yet preserve them. These are as follows, beginning with those mentioned by Bu ston in his catalogue. From the bKa' 'gyur:

don yod zhags pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug yongs su rjogs pa'i gzungs

phag pa don yod zhags pa'i rtog pa'i rgyal po cho ga zhes bya ba Amoghapāśakalparājavidhi (E 505 D 689 T 641 U 711) smallish, about 5 ff.

From the bsTan 'gyur:

don yod zhags pa'i bstus pa Amoghapāśasādhana of Śākyaśrībhadra (Otani 4840, Peking rGyud "grel vol zu ff. 123a.7-6a.1) Summarized in Meisezahl (1967: 477).

don yod 'zhags pa'i sgrub thabs mdor bstus pa Saṃkṣiptāmoghpāśasādhana of Śākyaśrībhadra

don yod 'zhags pa'i gtor ma'i cho ga Amoghapāśabalividhi of Śākyaśrībhadra

gso sbyong blang ba Poṣadhakaraṇīya of Śākyaśrībhadra

'phags pa don yod zhags pa'i gso sbyong gi chog gi man dag Āryāmoghapāśapoṣadhavidhyāmnāya of Śākyaśrībhadra

don yod zhags pa'i lha lnga rnams bstod pa Amoghapāśapañcadevastotra, by Candragomin. (Otani 3541) Summarized in Meisezahl (1967: 473).

don yod zhags pa'i mdo las bsdus pa (Otani 4842) Amoghapāśasādhana of Sahajālalita. Summarized in Meisezahl (1967: 471).

5.1.3 The *Kriyāsamuccaya*

There are two great late ritual compendia: the *Kriyāsaṃgrahaḥ* with its *pañjikā* by the Nepalese Kuladatta, and the *Kriyāsamuccaya* of Jagaddarpana, also thought, at least by the Nepalese Vajrācāryas, to be a Nepalese author.[3] The latter text contains a Poṣadha ritual which we consider below.

5.1.4 Nepalese Sanskrit sādhanas and ritual texts

An independent sequence of ritual texts with no corresponding Tibetan or Chinese translations exists in Nepal. The eldest of these is the *Poṣadhānuśaṃsā*, known only from a pair of incomplete palm leaf Nepalese manuscripts.[4] The work is not presently used by or known to the Vajrācāryas and there appear to be no surviving manuscripts after the 15th century. On the basis of internal evidence[5] it appears to be a Nepalese composition that predates the great influx of East Indian scholars after 1200.

By the 17th century we find manuscripts of the *Aṣṭamīvratavidhāna*, a text which is still used today. These are often bilingual, with the ritual instructions in Newari but the spoken text, iconographic

[3] For the evidence see 55 on page 140. [4] For a discussion of the manuscripts, see 6. [5] See the discussion at 4.2.3 on page 107.

descriptions and so forth still in Sanskrit. The *Aṣṭamīvratamāhātmya* is a title used for collections of avadānas which are appropriate for use as preaching stories for the participants; the actual collections vary widely both in size and contents. They are usually, but not always, in Newari.

We also find iconographic texts which make no reference to the Poṣadha; the most common of these is the *Amoghapāśapūjāvidhi*, where the iconography agrees exactly with Śākyaśrībhadra. It does not, however, appear ever to have been translated into Tibetan.

5.1.5 Other Nepalese sources

Garland literature

Finally there is the mass of mediæval Sanskrit literature written in Nepal, much of which is at least tangentially concerned with the Poṣadha vrata and some of which, as the GKV, holds the Poṣadha vrata as a central concern. As I noted above (2.2 on page 36), most of the Garland Literature is concerned with one or another of the vratas; both the GKV and the BhKA give descriptions of the Poṣadha vrata.

Poetry

Once we recognise the identification of Karuṇāmaya with Amoghapāśa,[6] then a significant body of devotional poetry and songs in Sanskrit and Newari becomes relevant; indeed, the identification is occasionally made explicit, as in song 8 collected by Lienhard (1974: 135), where Loknāth is called both 'Karuṇāmaya' and 'Amoghapāśa'. We may similarly note the stotras collected by Āśā Kaji Vajrācārya (1992) and the long praise of Lokeśvara composed by Vanaratna, almost certainly while in Nepal.[7]

5.1.6 Art historical evidence

The earliest preserved image of Amoghapāśa is Japanese and dates to the late 8th century.[8] Thereafter figures can be found in Indonesia from at least the 13th century.[9] In Nepal the oldest Amoghapāśa images still to be found date back no more than 300 years; although the images are very common, so too is theft. Meisezahl (1967) identifies three old Newar figures now in collections in the West without suggesting dates for them. Fortunately, painted images of Amoghapāśa can be found from the 14th[10] and 15th[11] century onwards in increasing frequency. These *paubha*s, Nepalese painted scrolls akin to the Tibetan thangka, were produced to commemorate performances of the Poṣadha vrata.

Part of the difficulty in assessing such evidence is that the iconography of Amoghapāśa, together with that of the various many-handed Avalokiteśvaras, is hardly stable. We do find a consistent type emerging in Nepal, both as sculpture and painting, with eight arms, and there is a Nepalese iconographic text which gives authority for this form.[12] The same form has been reported in India but there are several similar forms of Lokeśvara, all of whom have eight arms and may be accompanied by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī; thus the identification of any figure is difficult and the likelihood

[6] On which see 5.6.1 on page 144. [7] This is printed in Pandey (1994: 172); this book is one of the most astonishing examples of confounding the Indian and Nepalese traditions ever published. [8] In general I have not been able to consider the East Asian evidence, which is extensive but not well documented in Western languages. [9] A single damaged image from Śrīvijaya of an eight-armed Lokeśvara standing in *samapada* looks to me very much like an Amoghapāśa, but in the absence of the characteristic attributes it is impossible to be sure. [10] Cover illustration for the palm-leaf manuscript in the National Archives of the Amoghapāśasūtra, 1361. [11] See the *paubha*s studied in Pal (1967) and Kreijger (1999). [12] This text was rather poorly handled by Pal (1967); in general his methods are at their weakest when working with this material. I expect to publish an edition of this text soon. Much better, although also far from complete, is Meisezahl (1967).

of false identifications, which establish a spurious type and thus by circular reasoning further false identifications, is very high. The arguments of Leoshko (1985), which if correct would allow us to recognize a number of otherwise unidentified Amoghapāśas, are unconvincing, if tempting.[13] The AmS itself only gives us minimal details; the early Japanese, Chinese and Central Asian forms differ among themselves. Thus while it is possible to track the lineage of specific visualized forms, as Meisezahl (1967) does, it is more difficult to handle the disparate cult items which contend for identification as Amoghapāśa. To take one simple example, Bũgadyaḥ in his usual depiction, a red Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, would never be taken as Amoghapāśa on the basis of any śāstra's evidence, yet he is one of the most important instances of the deity.

5.2 Vratas

An understanding of vratas, lay fasting rituals, is necessary in order to understand the AmS, the reasons for the development of the cult of Amoghapāśa or indeed the composition of the GKV. They are ubiquitous in South Asian religions,[14] and through the cult of Amoghapāśa (perhaps along with other similar early ritual traditions) they spread within Buddhism to Central and East Asia. Oddly, they are not well or widely studied in the anthropology of South Asia, with Pearson (1996), which looks at women in Benares, being the only significant study of Indian vratas to my knowledge in the past thirty years. Fortunately Todd Lewis has recently published an edited collection of his studies on vratas among the Tulādhars of Kathmandu, which provides much useful material.[15]

5.2.1 History

Vratas are an ancient feature of Indian religion. While a line of development can be traced through the Brahminical literature, the mediæval blossoming of vratas seems to depend on an otherwise unrecorded popular ritual tradition. The term can be found in the *Ṛg Veda* referring to a precept, maxim or law. Yet already in the story of the frogs (RV VII.103, equivalent to AV IV.15.13) we find the term being used to describe a ritual performed to bring rain at a specific time of year.[16] In śāstric terms, this is a *kāmya* ritual, that is, an optional ritual performed for specific benefits; yet it is tied to a calendrical system. Vrata as a term referring to a somewhat ascetic *kāmya* practice occurs in both the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (I.5.21-3) and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (II.13-21). Thus well before the mediæval period the notion of a vrata as a voluntary act of renunciation tied to a

---

[13] Leoshko argues that (1) any form of Avalokiteśvara with a lasso must be Amoghapāśa whether or not it matches any existing textual source and (2) that the presence of a wishing-jewel (*cintāmaṇi*) is nonetheless not a perfect criterion for recognising Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara. Before we worry about the mutual contradiction of these two propositions, they should be assessed. The second proposition makes sense to me: the attributes which artists choose for their sculptures and paintings certainly do not always line up with the textual sources, whether because of perpetuated mistakes (for instance, the common substitution of *triśūla* for *tridaṇḍa* in the Nepalese Amoghapāśa) or creative freedom. The former proposition places too much weight on specific textual sources without indulging in comparison. Thus, in the *Sādhanamālā* we find that Trailokyavaśaṃkara Lokeśvara with 2 arms, Rakta Lokeśvara with 4 and Māyājālakrama Lokeśvara with 12 all have the lasso; moreover, Rakta Lokeśvara has the wishing-jewel as well. Such textual arguments, when they are intended to apply to real images, only take place in an imaginary iconographic landscape largely of interest to collectors. The textual provenance and regional import of any of the iconographic texts is only poorly understood (cf. Bühnemann's studies of the '*Sādhanamālā*' as a text) and indeed the workshop manuals and sketchbooks were probably at least as influential.

[14] While the 'high' vratas such as Śivarātrī are of course limited to sect adherents, the vratas of folk deities appear to cut across sectarian lines. Sītalā, the smallpox goddess, may be the best example of this, although her many manifestations and names make the description of one cult almost impossible.

[15] See Lewis (2000) (and my review in EBHR 21), as well as his earlier article of 1989.

[16] This has been discussed in Vajracarya (1997); see also note 43 on page 131.

specific calendrical cycle appears to be well established. Pearson (1996) offers an excellent survey of the Brahminical Indian literature in her second chapter, exploring materials mentioned in the extensive discussion in volume V(I) of Kane (1973). Her concern is to identify vratas as women's religion, which tallies with modern Newar Buddhist life and, as we will see for Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmī, apparently applies to mediæval Kashmir as well. Yet some Indian authors have connected vratas to non-Āryan groups; Das (1952) wishes to draw a connection to indigenous or pre-Āryan traditions, and there are many vratas associated with 'folk' deities such as Sītalā. In general, authors writing on the history of vratas insist that their systematization, largely in the Purāṇas and later dharmaśāstras, is a process of appropriation by brahminical codifiers of a non-elite tradition. Thus Kane writes,

> During the early centuries of the Christian era Buddhism and Jainism were influential rivals of the ancient sacrificial system. In order to wean common people away from these two schisms it is very probable that learned followers of the Vedic system hit upon the glorification of vratas and promised heaven and other worldly and spiritual rewards to those who performed vratas that were comparatively easy and within reach of all instead of sacrifices and also adopted some of the practices of common folks as vratas, e.g. kukuṭṭī-markaṭī-vrata in Bhaviṣyottara 46.1-43, Sītalā-vrata (Vratārka folio 111b-113b, NS p. 123). (p. 43)

While Kane is not aware of the rich heritage of vratas outside the Brahminical tradition, it is clear that everyone, not just the learned Vaidikas, was indeed promulgating formalized vrata rituals at about this time. Evidence for other early vratas within Buddhism is not easy to pinpoint, although important deities such as Bhaiṣajyaguru appear to have functioned, like Amoghapāśa, as centres for vratas.[17] However by the time of the 15th century Nepalese materials described in chapter two, there were many vratas which were a constant feature in the life of Nepalese Buddhists, and indeed continue to be so for contemporary Newar-speaking Vajrayāna Buddhists.

Story telling Kane's description of the way in which participants in the Ekādaśī should occupy themselves through the long fasting day is surprisingly reminiscent of the present Poṣadha vrata as well. It is drawn from the Nāradapurāṇa:

> He should take no food, should curb his senses, should lie down in front of the Viṣṇu image, keep awake engaged in songs, music and dances relating to Viṣṇu and listen to stories about Viṣṇu contained in the Purāṇas. (p. 105)

While listening to music would be explicitly forbidden under the eight precepts, the emphasis on edifying stories is also found in the Buddhist vratas. Indeed, one of the commoner manuscript genres one may find in the Kathmandu Valley is the *aṣṭamīvratakathā* texts. This is a generic name for story collections compiled from the avadāna literature intended for recitation during the long day's observance. The set of stories is not fixed, and any single manuscript can contain from three to fifteen stories, although certain avadānas do tend to recur. The selection of stories in these manuscripts appears to represent the personal preferences of the Vajrācāryas who copied them, although there may be traditions of specific stories bound to the monasteries where these rituals are performed. More interesting, and as yet uninvestigated, is the mutation of the avadānas themselves under the influence of their inclusion in a vrata context to include narrative material recommending or describing the vrata. For example the *Sudhanakinnarī Avadāna*, as found in the *Divyāvadāna, Mahāvastu* or indeed

[17] See Birnbaum (1989: 160-2) for a similar, although not as fully developed, 6th century text dedicated to the Medicine Buddha. It, too, includes dhāraṇī recitation, image worship and the production of medicines. From the story of Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmī (see below) we may suspect that Amoghapāśa was not the only form of Avalokiteśvara to receive worship through fasting, although he probably was the first.

its late retelling in the *Avadānakalpalātā*, never mentions the Poṣadha vrata. However, a recent Nepalese edition of the *Amoghapāśasūtra* notes that the hero, Sudhana, is born to his parents only after they have performed the Poṣadha vrata and credits this to the earlier textual tradition as well as the Nepalese materials where this variant does genuinely appear.[18] These insertions apparently arose while traditions of vernacular storytelling developed around the Sanskrit manuscripts and were then folded into written vernacular versions as they in turn were composed and distributed.[19]

Accessibility The insistence on accessibility noted above (5.1.1) is characteristic of Brahminical vratas as well; according to Kane (1973: 45), "vratas could be performed by all, including śūdras, maidens, married women, widows, even prostitutes." This is modified in the dharmaśāstras where those ineligible to perform vratas (because, for instance, they lacked their husband's permission—as required in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*) could nominate a *pratiṇidhi* who could perform the vrata on their behalf. From an elite perspective, this accessibility is recast as an understanding that vratas are somehow easier than real penance (*tapas*). We read in Kane's account:

> In the Mahābhārata (and the Padmapurāṇa VI 53.4-6) it is stated that the Vedic rites and rites prescribed by Manu cannot be performed in Kaliyuga and that therefore it declared to Yudhiṣṭhira something that would be an easy remedy, requiring little wealth and causing little trouble but securing great rewards and that would be the essence of Purāṇas, viz., one should not eat food on Ekadaśī of both fortnights; he who does not eat food on Ekadaśī does not go to hell. (p. 44)

This somewhat derogatory tone does not occur in the earlier Buddhist material. The AmS insists on universal accessibility: not just women and śūdras, but outcastes, dogs (sic) and lepers. Amoghapāśa himself is consistently described as ascetic (*tapasvin*). In the case of Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmī it is difficult to tell what outward sign functioned more powerfully to exclude her from access to ascetic and monastic rôles: her gender, in theory negated by taking the nun's ordination, or her obvious leprosy. Clearly part of the point of her story for subsequent fasters is that fasting in Avalokiteśvara's name is a doorway to asceticism (and the complex power structures it entails) which is always open to everyone.

The position within the mediæval Newar Buddhist sources is somewhat more complex. Alex von Rospatt, studying the Ahoratra vrata sources, has pointed out that they do, indeed, make distinctions, with members of the *jāti*s of the four varṇas (that is, brahmins, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras) being allowed to do pūjā while lower caste members do not.[20] Moreover, it seems unlikely that the modern Newar vratas will form a point of access by which the presently caste-bound tradition can free itself.

5.3 The History of Amoghapāśa

The history of Amoghapāśa will give some idea of the spread and durability of this deity and his cult. His history can be neatly divided into two periods, the first characterised by the rapid spread of his cult across much of Asia and the second by a fresh wave of writing, largely in Kashmir, followed by the consolidation of the cult in Tibet, Indonesia and Nepal.

[18] The version of the story which does include the Poṣadha is found in Newari recensions, and may also be a part of the multilingual *pyākhā*version composed for the court in the 19th century. For the claim see Sakya (1992). [19] Such changes in the avadānas would thus have happened just after the time that the Garland Literature, which enthusiastically recommended and described these vratas, was promulgated. [20] A. von Rospatt, personal communication.

5.3.1 Early spread

In 587CE , Jñānagarbha translated the AmS into Chinese for the first time.[21] This is our earliest record for both the deity and his distinctive ritual, a simple one-day fast. The same text was retranslated in the seventh century by Hsuan Tsang, Bodhiruci and Amoghavajra, indicating its popularity. A considerably amplified work, the AmK, which preserves the AmS as its first chapter, had probably been composed by the end of the seventh century, for Bodhiruci who had translated the AmS in 693 then translated the AmKR between 707-9. Both texts are included in the 8th century lDan dKar dKar chag, the oldest catalogue of Tibetan scriptures.

There are two Dunhuang manuscripts of the Tibetan translation of the AmS in *śog ril* or scroll format characteristic of the 8th century, which appear to preserve an earlier form of the AmS than the Tibetan translation now found in all versions of the bKa' 'gyur. Further evidence for this earlier Sanskrit version comes from a partial Sogdian translation and a Japanese transmission of the dhāraṇī section only. Illustrations on the Dunhuang walls confirm the popularity of this form of Avalokiteśvara in Central Asia.

While the earliest image we have of Amoghapāśa is the figure from 784 CE of Kenjaku-kannon-ji in the Todaiji, the great temple of Nara Japan, the Kenjaku-in or Amoghapāśa Chapel there dates to 733. His importance in Nara Japan is documented in both images and bureaucratic records relating to the ordination of monks; we find that the Amoghapāśa Dhāraṇī was among those frequently mentioned in the *koshinge* letters that were written to certify that a trainee had attained sufficient skill in memorized texts to be fully ordained (Abé 1999: 160-1).[22] Thus by the mid-8th century the original Sanskrit text had been translated into Chinese, Tibetan and Sogdian, and we know moreover that the cult had reached Nara Japan.

In South and Southeast Asia it is surprisingly difficult to establish the presence of Amoghapāśa through art historical evidence in this period. Leoshko (1985) argues unconvincingly that several otherwise unidentified Pāla images from the region of Gayā are Amoghapāśa images.[23] A Nepalese image of Amoghapāśa said to be from the ninth century was sold by Christie's in October 2001; and there is a 9th century Avalokiteśvara image from Java, as yet unidentified, which is very suggestive of Amoghapāśa. Identifying sculptural remains from this period is, however, exceedingly difficult as in the absence of labels, the iconographic tradition itself has not settled. For Java, however, we have strong circumstantial evidence that links it to Nara and Heian Japanese Buddhism. Amoghavajra, the great 8th century translator and propagator of early Vajrayāna, spent considerable time in Java. According to Anthony Tribe,

> Amoghavajra's biography reveals the international nature of Mahāyāna (and tantric) Buddhism in the eighth century. Born into a merchant family in north-west India (possibly Samarkand), at the age of twelve he was travelling with his uncle in Java. There he met the tantric teacher Vajrabodhi (671-741) whose disciple he became and whom he accompanied to China. After Vajrabodhi's death, he went back to South East Asia and studied the tantra further in Śrī Laṅkā with Nāgabodhi. In 746 he returned to China where he remained until his death some twenty eight years later. (Tribe 1994)

Amoghavajra met Vajrabodhi around 717; after Vajrabodhi's death he returned to collect further scriptures. Given the evidence we already have for the spread of the cult of Amoghapāśa in East and Central Asia, while Amoghavajra himself need not have been the vector of transmission his biography clearly indicates the strong likelihood that Amoghapāśa's cult, along with many other early Vajrayāna practices, was probably well established in Java and Sumatra by the mid-8th century.

---

[21] For the textual information I am here simply following Meisezahl (1962: 275-6). [22] See also Yamasaki and Kidd (1988: n.2 p. 24). [23] See the discussion of her argument at note 13 on page 123.

The Sanskrit textual tradition does suggest that the Indian cult was prospering and developing in the late 7th/early 8th century. There is one text attributed to Candragomin on Amoghapāśa and one to Sahajalalita; this is certainly not the early grammarian Candragomin but a later figure. Both, however, are to be placed in the late 7th century.[24]

Bũgadyaḥ Finally, Bũgadyaḥ, whom we already know to be identified with Amoghapāśa in sources from the 15th century onwards, was almost certainly established as a Buddhist deity in the 7th century. An argument can be based on the accounts of the origins of Bũgadyaḥ in the Nepalese chronicles alone, which "all agree on linking the incident with King Narendradev" (Locke 1973: 56). Narendradeva was a 7th century king, who appears to have had close relations to the Tibetan throne.[25] Alsop (1990), consulting a fourteenth-century Tibetan chronicle, has argued that Bũgadyaḥ was actually established in the 7th century along with the White Lokeśvara of Jana Bahāḥ in Kathmandu, the Phagpa Lokeśvara of the Potala in Lhasa and Wati, the Lokeśvara of the Kyirong country. There are significant problems with Alsop's argument as it concerns the Lokeśvara of Jana Bahāl,[26] but confirmation of both the date and the association of a specific cultic identity with at least one of the four noble Lokeśvaras (the Potala Lokeśvara is specifically identified as a Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara) is helpful evidence. Given the rapid spread of the Amoghapāśa cult in this period there is no reason not to accept that the traditional identification of Bũgadyaḥ with Amoghapāśa begins with the establishment of the deity in the 7th century.

5.3.2 Revival in Kashmir and Tibet

In the 11th century and afterwards Amoghapāśa undergoes a curious sort of renaissance. In Kashmir, Tibet, Indonesia and Nepal he is the subject of writing and artistic production, and while in the former two he tends to lose importance, in the latter two states his cult expands and becomes linked to the throne.

Bari Lotsaba and Śākyaśrībhadra

The present survival of Amoghapāśa in the Sa.sKya school of Tibet can be traced to the influence of the second hierarch in the Sa.sKya school, Rin chen Grags po, also known as Ba ri Lotsaba (1040-1112). He composed a sādhana of Red Amoghapāśa in the east of a maṇḍala around a white Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara.[27] A sādhana of Red Amoghapāśa preserved in the Rin.byung.rGya.mTsho of Tārānātha which is either this same sādhana or a revision of it is also the only occurence of the

[24] See the discussion on Candragomin in Handurukande (1967: pp. 203-8). By Handurukande's reckoning, the later Candragomin would have died about 695CE, which would fit well with the known translation activity in the Amoghapāśa corpus in the 7th century. Sahajalalita is less well known, but according to Tārānātha was a contemporary of Vinītadeva, placed c. 700. See Tārānātha (1990: p.251). [25] Petech (1984: 24), following the Chinese sources, says that in "643 or 644 the Tibetans helped the pretender Narendradeva, then a refugee in Tibet, to overthrow the usurper Viṣṇugupta, restoring the Licchavi dynasty to the throne." [26] Most notably, Nepalese sources tend to identify Jaṭadharī Lokeśvara in Lalitpur and Ānandādi Lokeśvara of Cobhar as the other two genuinely old Lokeśvaras in the Valley. Given that the illustrated Prajñāpāramitā manuscripts I mentioned above in fact only list a 'Bugama Lokeśvara' and a 'Svayaṃbhū Lokeśvara'—the latter of whom is sometimes identified as a 'Mañjuśrī', and lives just behind the main caitya at Svayaṃbhū although he is obviously a Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara—I find it extremely improbable that the Lokeśvara of Jana Bahāl existed at that time. There is very little reason to follow Alsop's identification of *lJa ma li* with *Janabahā dyāḥ*. It is far more likely that there really was a fourth Lokeśvara established in a Himalayan hill state. We have no reason to believe the Khāsiya Mallas existed in the 7th century, but Alsop's suggestion that they or someone like them may have played a rôle is I think far closer to the truth. [27] Meisezahl gives this text as preserved in the *gsung 'bum* of bLo bzang nor bu shes rab(b. 1737/1677); however, see note 28 on the next page for more extensive catalogue resources.

term Karuṇāmaya outside the Nepalese literature; the mantra of the central Avalokiteśvara, who is a white Padmapaṇī, is *na maḥ sa ma nta bu ddhā nām sa rva ta thā ga ta a va lo ki te kā ru ṇa ma ya mu rta ye hūṃ ja svā hā* (Tārānātha and Zopa Rimpoche 198344). Ba ri also translated, together with his teacher Amoghavajra, Sahajālalita's earlier sādhana on the same subject, and wrote several other ritual texts linked to the Poṣadha fast.[28]

Śākyaśrībhadra (fl. 12th century), known to the Tibetan tradition as the Great Kashmiran Paṇḍit, is responsible for five Amoghapāśa texts in the bsTan 'gyur: two sādhanas, an offering manual, and two commentaries on how correctly to perform the Poṣadha fast of Amoghapāśa. These texts all take the AmS as their basis. His iconographic texts deal exclusively with the white form of the deity; the rituals he describes, as we will see below, while they follow the tradition of the AmS, do not reflect the developments happening at about the same time in Nepal. Śākyaśrībhadra was a direct teacher of Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, also known as Sakya Paṇdita, the fifth hierarch of the Sa sKya pas. Thus the lineage of Red Amoghapāśa which was transmitted down from Ba ri and that of White Amoghapāśa from Śākyaśrībhadra were joined in Sakya Paṇḍita. This no doubt explains why the Sa sKya pas have since then been the custodians of the Amoghapāśa lineages in Tibet, although not the sole practitioners.

Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmī

By contrast, Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmī (dGe sLong ma dPal mo)[29] is responsible for the divorce of Amoghapāśa from the ritual complex which had always been his. Traditionally said to have been a Kashmirian princess who took nun's vows, she lived around the time of Ba ri. When she developed leprosy and was systematically excluded from her home, she had a dream of Indrabodhi who advised her to propitiate Avalokiteśvara through the Poṣadha fast, in order to appease the nāgas which had caused her disease. In a second vision, she was told to practise in the area of Puṇḍravarddhana; she again was expelled, presumably on the basis of her appearance, from one shrine so went instead to fast and meditate for a week continuously before an image of Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara. At the end of this practice she saw that this image had changed to Ekādaśamukha Sahasrabhuja Lokeśvara, the form with eleven heads and a thousand hands. She was restored to her former physical beauty. The eight nāga kings appeared and promised to protect the new form of the ritual fast she was about to codify.[30]

This form of the fast, called the *sMyung gnas*, spread rapidly in Tibet and displaced whatever popular tradition of the Poṣadha there had been.[31] The practice derived from Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmī is extremely widespread now, with monastic and lay Buddhists of all ranks equally likely to perform it. For example, it was undertaken in the 20th century by Bhutanese kings, although without any of the special connotations which seem to follow the Nepalese and Indonesian version.

Nepal

I will only summarize here, as we will delve into the details elsewhere in this chapter. What we see in Nepal is an extension of the notion of dutiful performance of the Poṣadha vrata to the person of the king for the benefit not of the king, but of the nation. It is difficult to determine when this began, but it is at the latest a twelfth-century development and very likely much earlier. I

[28] In his compendium of rituals, the *lha pa'i lha rnams kyi sgrub thabs kun las btus pa ba ri brgya rtsa'i rgya gzhung rnams* (<http://www.tbrc.org/search/index.php?resource=W15563> with an extensive outline at <http://www.tbrc.org/search/index.php?resource=O12>), Ba ri includes several rituals of Amoghapāśa including a *theg pa chen po'i gso sbyong*: see headings 10.8 and following. For Rin chen grags (Ba ri Lotsaba), see <http://www.tbrc.org/search/index.php?resource=P3731>. [29] This name is perhaps better translated as Bhikṣuṇī Śrī, but the more widespread Sanskrit back-translation is Lakṣmī. [30] There is a brief summary of her life story in Churinoff et al. (1995), which contains the Seventh Dalai Lama's revision of the ritual. [31] The existence in Ba ri's corpus of Poṣadha ritual texts does suggest that the fast had been practised in his day.

have mentioned the establishment of Būgadyaḥ, traditionally thought to have happened during the reign of Narendradeva and recently dated to the 7th century. Although there are earlier sculptures, our first hard evidence for the cult of Amoghapāśa in Nepal is the 1220's report of Dharmasvāmin, noted at 4.2.3 on page 109. There we see the king participating in a procession which is linked to the performance of the lay vow. It is precisely this royal participation in the Poṣadha vrata that the fifteenth-century Garland texts—the GKV, in particular, but also the BhKA and the SvP — encourage. When in the 17th century a distinctively Buddhist court did emerge in Nepal, the king, Śrīnivās Malla, identified himself with Avalokiteśvara in his Sarvasṛṣṭi form as described in the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*. He had a window built in the palace which matched the iconography laid out in that text, showing him as Avalokiteśvara from whom all the brahminical deities are emanated.

Java

Hard evidence for an early cult of Amoghapāśa in Java is lacking, but I argued above that it was almost certainly a part of the general development of the Mahāyāna. Especially in Śrīvijaya, with its steady traffic of Chinese and Indian monks, such a popular cult would have found a home. It is only in the 13th century that we actually encounter a fully developed cult, and by this time it has already taken on some features which parallel the Nepalese cult.

We have good evidence for the identification of the Singhosāri kings of Java with Amoghapāśa. Most impressive is the Caṇḍi Jago, constructed in the years after 1268, in which Kṛtanāgara represented his father as Amoghapāśa both by representing him as a statue and by constructing the entire complex as a maṇḍala of Amoghapāśa (O'Brien 1994). Second, there is a statue of Amoghapāśa constructed in Sumatra,[32] near the capital of Malayu, Jambi, in 1286, by Kṛtanāgara as part of a campaign of conquest and consolidation that included other expressions of Buddhist kingship, including his initiation as Akṣobhya, all of which were designed to withstand the rapid expansion of the Mongol empire. Finally there is a reference to Kṛtanāgara as a performer of vratas in the *Kṛtanāgarāgama*[33], a late fourteenth-century eulogistic poem.

> Truly the prince was not negligent, being unfettered by blind passion, he was the more prudent in conduct / because of his profound awareness of the difficulties in protecting the world in the age of kaliyuga / His reason for concentrating on samaya and vrata, adhering firmly to the way of the Sugatas was / that by imitating the great kings of the past he would be able to ensure the continued prosperity of the world.

Of course, the question here is whether this poem is using the remembered Buddhist piety of a thirteenth-century king to make an argument about fourteenth-century politics. In Prapañca's court milieu the influence of Buddhism was waning, to be replaced by a less Indic and more evolved Javanese form of Śiva-Buddhism.[34] This sense of a late shift in meaning for Amoghapāśa is confirmed by an originally Javanese image which was shifted to Malayu, in Sumatra, by Ādityavarman, who had the image re-inscribed in 1347(Coedès 1968: 232). The inscription itself contains nothing that is particular to the cult of Amoghapāśa beyond his name[35], although the appropriation of the statue does suggest that images of Amoghapāśa (along with those of other Buddhist deities) could function as royal palladia.

5.3.3 Present disposition

In the present day we find Amoghapāśa still quietly occupying many corners of the Buddhist world. In Japan his shrine at Todaiji is famous, but he himself survives now primarily as one of the fixed

[32] See Coedès (1968: 201). [33] Noted by O'Brien (1994: 33). [34] See the excellent discussion in the introduction to Santoso (1975), especially pages 103 and 126-7. [35] The inscription is edited in Chatterjee and Chakravarti (1933).

forms of Avalokiteśvara. Dunhuang and the Sogdians are long since gone. In Tibet, Amoghapāśa is remembered in some lists, and among the Sa.sKya.pa school he is still part of a relatively minor, but active, ritual cycle. Indonesian Buddhism is presently undergoing something of a renaissance, but without Amoghapāśa or the royal ancestral cult. Only in Nepal do we find a flourishing cult of Amoghapāśa with thousands of people performing his fast every year.

5.3.4 Origins

Finally, let us return to the question of the origin of Amoghapāśa. The first occurrence of the term *amoghapāśa*, "the unfailing lasso", is in the *Sudhanakinnarī Avadāna*. There are at least two different versions of this story. The first, which details the winning of this lasso, can be found in the Bhaiṣajya-vastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (Dutt, p. 123 ff) and the *Divyāvadāna*. The second, which passes over this part of the story more briefly and elides the birth of Sudhana, can be found in the *Mahāvastu* and thereafter (in verse recensions) in the *Avadānakalpalatā* and the BhKA. The term refers to a special weapon which the Nāgas use to defend themselves against the aerial attack of the Garuḍas. In the opening section of this avadāna, a nāga prince is rescued by a hunter from certain capture by an evil snake-charmer (*ahituṇḍaka*). In reward, the nāga's parents give him jewels, but the hunter is then advised by a ṛṣi that the far greater treasure is the unfailing lasso of the nāgas, which the hunter then demands and is given. Given the range of sources, the story is at least three hundred years earlier in origin than the AmS.[36] The *Sudhanakinnarī Avadāna* has an extraordinary history of its own, being translated eventually into almost every Buddhist language and forming the basis of separately conceived dance-dramas in Tibet, Nepal and Thailand.

Our first evidence for the deity Amoghapāśa comes with the translation of the AmS into Chinese in 587CE. However, his early associations with nāgas and vratas provide valuable clues to his real origins. Amoghapāśa's most important attribute is precisely the unfailing lasso with which he snares and saves sentient beings. This lasso is also the key to his origins. Where else do we encounter a nāga lasso? It is precisely the attribute of Varuṇa, Vedic lord of the waters and Lokapāla of the west. This continuity between Varuṇa and Amoghapāśa, related through a nāga lasso, is threefold: their shared iconography, their shared function in the context of vows and their shared role as nāgarājas.

Iconography In Varuṇa's case, the lasso is a nāga, rather than belonging to nāgas. The snares of Varuṇa are said to manifest as physical afflictions - precisely what the Amoghapāśa dhāraṇī is said to remove.[37] Evidence for this iconographic identification in the later Indian tradition is found in the *Poṣadhavidhyāmnāya* of Śākyaśrībhadra, a text which we will consider in more detail below. There in a mantra Amoghapāśa is described (in a passage of Sanskrit transcription) as *bhu dza dha ra*. From this I am inclined to read *bhujaṅgadhāra* as a plausible reconstruction of the Sanskrit, that is, 'he who holds a snake'. The more ornate Nepalese metal images of Amoghapāśa also feature nāgas forming both his belt and his sacred thread.

Oath-binders In the Brahminical literature on vratas, Varuṇa is the deity who 'binds' or guarantees the performance of the vrata from the *Ṛg Veda* onwards. For this reason he is adapted by

[36] Various dates have been proposed for the avadāna literature of the Sarvāstivādins, from the 2nd century BCE onwards. The latest date usually accepted is the 3rd century CE. This particular story, recurring in different versions across much of the Sanskrit collections in a coherent form, is probably among the older tales therein. [37] Varuṇa persists as an iconographic figure up to the time of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, long after the AmS, and is located in the west in the family of Amitābha with his noose; cf. *Niṣpannayogāvalī*: 14, 21,22, 23, 26; see esp. 21 and 26. Amoghapāśa, too, as a form of Avalokiteśvara belongs in the family of Amitābha, although oddly he nowhere appears in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. Either we have two separate figures in the family of Amitābha who carry nāga-associated nooses, or the Varuṇa of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* is an alternative for Amoghapāśa.

Indian Buddhists who are building a framework for vratas in their tradition, and transformed into Amoghapāśa the tutelary deity of vratas. The term *pāśa* in the sense of an oath or the obligation to uphold a vow is current in the KV, a Buddhist scripture about Avalokiteśvara dated to the fourth or fifth century and thus a viable precedent for the AmS . In the narrative of Bali, when he takes an oath before Nārāyaṇa, the dialogue runs thus, with Bali speaking first:

yādṛśaṃ tvayājñaptaṃ tādṛsaṃ karomy aham | satyaṃ kuruṣe ? | sa kathayati satyaṃ satyaṃ karomy ahaṃ | tena satyapāśair baddhaḥ |	Bali: In the manner you command, so I will do. Nārāyaṇa: Will you behave truthfully? Bali: I will very truly do that which your honour says. So he was bound with lassos of truth.

Nāgarājas A further piece of evidence is found in the lineage history for the practise of the Amoghapāśa fast. In the Blue Annals, it is said to derive ultimately from one Elapātra (Tib. *E ra pa ti*). A short biography of this figure is given: he is said to have lived in Southern India, been a great monk and scholar, and killed his own mother, albeit in an manner excused in the BA. He propitiated Amoghapāśa, reciting a mantra found in the AmS, and eventually had a vision of him with his five-deity family.[38] Having attained siddhis, he became a wandering teacher, still stigmatized as a matricide, who taught Virūpa among others.[39] Elapātra, however, is known in the early Buddhist Sanskrit narrative literature as the name of one of four Nāga kings each of whom presides over a treasure; Elapatra is also the name of the treasure, located in Takṣaśīla. [40]

In both Buddhist and brahminical lore, Varuṇa is the king of the nāgas. Thus in the nāga maṇḍala which is said to be constructed in a cave deep underneath Svayaṃbhū in Nepal, the central figure is Varuṇa.[41] Karuṇāmaya is also tied to the nāgas through his role as rain bringer, and later, in his guise of Matsyendranāth, as liberator of the nāgas of Nepal. The complex relationship between Būgadyaḥ/Karuṇāmaya and the nāgas of Nepal has been explored by various recent authors, but the importance of Amoghapāśa, with whom Karuṇāmaya is identified, as a mediating figure has not so far been clearly recognised.[42] This should not be too surprising, however, given that Varuṇa was already a god of the rains (and of vratas to bring rains) by the end of the Vedic period.[43] I will return to this problem below, in a general discussion of the complex nature of Karuṇāmaya; however, I think that the relatively late mediæval overlay of Matsyendranath as a strategy of Śaiva assimilation to the iconography and cult of Karuṇāmaya obscures both a much older relationship between Amoghapāśa, the nāgas and Karuṇāmaya as a rain deity, and an earlier and less polemical identification of Karuṇāmaya with Matsyendranāth as a water deity.

Summary It would appear, then, that Amoghapāśa is a Buddhist appropriation of the Vedic deity of oaths, rain and nāgas. This is an instance of appropriation which does not involve subjugation or competition, as the cult of Varuṇa was all but dormant in this period. Rather, as was suggested above,

[38] This ties in to the early sādhana by Candragomin. [39] Roerich and Lotsaba (1976: pp. 1020-1). [40] See the article at Edgerton (1985: v. II, p. 156b) and the note in the Mahāvastu translation at Jones (1949: vol III, p. 381). That this particular Nāgarāja lives in Takṣaśīla, taken together with the story of the Amogha pāśa in the Sarvāstivādin literature, suggests that this figure has Northwestern roots, which accords well both with his Vedic origins and his Kaśmirian revival.
[41] The list of nāgas is given in chapter 8 of the SvP, although not in the shorter versions. [42] Anne Vergati has explored the role of Karuṇāmaya as a royal rain deity in Vergati (1995). [43] "For instance, Varuṇa was originally the god of the night sky representing the primeval water, the ocean of the nether-world, as Kuiper has aptly shown. In the secondary development, however, already in the Vedic period the god had become a god of the Indian monsoon as exemplified by AV 4.15.12 in which the god is prayed to for the shower of rain so that the speckled-armed frogs start croaking along the water-courses."(Vajracarya 1997)

various groups including Buddhist and brahminical priests appear to have begun systematizing vratas in the early Purāṇic period. Amoghapāśa, although he had a substantial subsequent development, appears to have been carefully invented in order to borrow notions of oath-binding and asceticism as well as the worldly benefit of reliable rain.

5.4 Rituals

5.4.1 The Poṣadha vrata

As my primary concern here is to understand the place of the Mahāyāna Poṣadha in the GKV, I should first point out that the inclusion of the Poṣadha vrata in the GKV has no basis in any of its textual sources. The Poṣadha is not mentioned in the KV or BCA. The term 'poṣadha' has a long history in Indian Buddhism, and strictly refers to the *aṣṭāṅgapoṣadha*, the eight lay precepts. The eightfold vow is an extension of the ordinary five lay precepts by which any lay Buddhist should abide, and consists of: Nonviolence, not stealing, chastity, not lying, not taking intoxicants, not using high seats or beds, not using cosmetics or adornments, not listening to music or other entertainments and not eating after noon. It is important to distinguish between the original Buddhist Poṣadha (Pāli *uposatha*), a periodic ritual involving the eight lay precepts, and the later Mahāyāna ritual which centres around Amoghapāśa. The original lay ceremony was a way of folding lay supporters into the periodic cycle of the fortnightly Pātimokkha. Lay Buddhists were invited in to take the eight precepts and be told edifying stories.[44] This core is still apparent in the modern Newar practice, which takes place on the eighth day of the bright lunar half and the fourteenth of the dark half and is a joint activity of the Vajrācārya priests and lay devotees, almost all women.

Before 1200

However, the first textual evidence we have for the distinct ritual and vow of Mahāyāna Poṣadha is the AmS itself. Towards the end of this text, after the exposition of all the mantras, the ritual obligations and meditation are concisely expressed. For the sake of comparison with later material, I will focus on three aspects: the Poṣadha vows themselves, the timing of the ritual, and the dietary restrictions imposed.

[44] Gombrich (1988: 76), Locke (1987: p. 159).

yaḥ kaś cid bhagavan kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā bhikṣur vā bhikṣuṇī vā upāsako vā upāsikā vā tadanyo vā kaś cit sattvaḥ | amoghapāśahṛdayam uddiśya śuklāṣṭamyām upavāsaṃ kūryāt | . . . (M. ed. p. 327) poṣadhikena citrakareṇa citrāpayitavyaḥ || tataḥ sādhakena tasyāgrato 'patitagomayena maṇḍalakaṃ kṛtvā śvetapuṣpāvakīrṇaṃ | aṣṭau gandhodakapūrṇakumbhāḥ sthāpayitavyāḥ | aṣṭāv upahārāś catuḥṣaṣṭirūpakaraṇāni | balir māṃsarudhiravarjitaḥ | agurudhūpan dahatā vidyā aṣṭasahasraṃ japtavyā | ahorātroṣitena trirātroṣitena vā triḥśuklabhojinā śucinā triṣkālasnāyinā śucivastraprāvṛtena japo dātavyaḥ || (Meisezahl 1962: 316)

Blessed one, whatever son or daughter of a good family, monk, nun, layman or woman or sentient being other than these, having uttered [the] *Amoghapāśahṛdaya*, should fast on the eighth day of the bright half of the lunar month. . . .
The artist, who has undertaken the eightfold vow, should draw [the image of Amoghapāśa]. Then above that, the practitioner make a maṇḍala from cow-dung which has not fallen,[a] throw a white flower [into it], and set up eight flasks filled with scented water. [There are] eight offerings, each of sixty-four materials; [but] the sacrificial offering should be free of meat and blood. Lighting fragrant aloe incense, recite the mantra 108 times. The person offering the recitation should take the precepts for a whole day and night, or for three, eat [only] milk, curd and butter, be clean and bathe thrice daily, and should have put on clean clothing. (Meisezahl 1962: 327)

[a] That is, collected from the cow before it falls to the ground.

Leaving aside the ordinary components of a Vajrayāna ritual such as the mantra recitation, maṇḍala and flasks, what is distinctive about this ritual in comparison to the non-Mahāyāna vow is that the performance of the eightfold vow (which is nowhere explicitly listed in this particular text) on the eighth day of the bright half of the lunar month is supplemented by a further series of conditions.

First, it is explicitly open to just about anyone; the scope of the phrase "sentient being other than these" *tadanyaḥ sattvaḥ* is indeed inclusive. One possible action recommended for the text, along with reciting it, writing it and so on, is to mutter it into the ear of an animal: *antaśas tiryagyonigatānāṃ karṇapuṭe sthitvā karṇajapeṇa dāsyanti.* This is not strictly incompatible with the sorts of caste distinctions maintained by the Ahoratra materials mentioned above; an animal presumably does not have the right, the *adhikāra*, to actually perform the ritual, and indeed the phrase 'son or daughter of a good family' may be a way to limit the *adhikāra* for actually performing the ritual as opposed to having it performed or recited on one's behalf.

Second, the vow is to be taken either for a day or for three days. Three days, in this case, means that the vow begins on the evening of the seventh, continues all day through the eighth, and is finished at noon on the ninth. The alternation between two durations is a feature which has puzzled ethnographers discussing the modern Newar lay vrata, but both the one-day and the three-day versions appear to be original and both are properly called Poṣadha. What I have called three-day version is properly called the *ahoratravrata*, or day-and-night vrata. The one-day version should take place between waking and sleeping in one day.

Third, there are regulations as to cleanliness. The requirement of a mid-day bath is a rather brahminical feature. The admonition to wear clean clothing probably amounts to the requirement that one adopt white clothing for the duration of the vow. Elsewhere there is mention of a white thread which one ties on, rather than the expected five-coloured thread. The adoption of distinctive

white clothing to mark out lay Buddhists engaged in a vow is not uncommon in the modern world,[45] but in the modern Newar vrata the requirement is only clean clothing.

Finally, there are dietary restrictions. The *triḥśukla*, or 'three whites,' are three pure foods in opposition to the impure foods such as garlic, leeks, meat and so on. Elsewhere in the text, the practitioner is advised to dispose of any unfinished impure foods, including garlic and strong drink, before beginning the ritual; and the prohibition extends also to the offerings.[46]

As a form of asceticism open to all interested parties, the AmS seems happy to impose a substantial load on its adherents. Not least is the mantra itself. The reader who has not read the AmS might not be aware of the length of the Amoghapāśahṛdaya; as mantras go it is rather long, taking up several pages in the modern edition. Unlike the Ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā, which can be recited 108 times in less than five minutes with ease, each repetition of the Amoghapāśahṛdaya would take five minutes or so.

Śākyaśrībhadra

From two short texts of the 12th century Kaśmīrian monk and writer Śākyaśrībhadra, it is clear that while the ritual underwent some degree of clarification, it remained substantially the same. One text, the *Poṣadhakaraṇīya*, simply specifies the wording of the vow itself. The other text, called the *Poṣadhavidhyāmnāya*, provides a summary of the ritual. Here there is no one-day option; the vrata begins in the evening of the seventh, takes place largely on the eighth, and finishes during the day of the ninth. As to dietary restrictions, the text says:

de'i cho ga ni dkar po'i phyogs kyi tshes brgyad la brtul shugs kyis bsdams par gyur pas khyad par du ba klag par bya ste[a] | *bcom ldan 'das don yod zhags pa la yang dag par mchod cing gsol ba gdab par bya'o* | *chu tshod la sogs kyi khongs su 'o ma dang* | *ka ra dang dkar gsum gyi zas bza' bar bya'o* |

[a] xyl. sta

As to the ritual: on the eight day of the bright half of the month, (this) should be recited by one who has been bound with the special vrata. He should make an offering properly and pray to Amoghapāśa. Within an hour or other period, he should eat the three white foods, such as milk and sugar.

In comparison with the AmS, which appears to be offering several different variations, the ritual framework put forward by Śākyaśrībhadra is clear. The ritual begins on the evening of the seventh day of the bright lunar half-month. The practitioner takes on the Poṣadha vow, makes an offering to Amoghapāśa, prays, eats from the three white foods and prepares to sleep while visualising the deity. In the morning at dawn, he washes, performs nyāsa and then with a mantra visualises and summons Amoghapāśa with his retinue into the seven prepared maṇḍalas.[47] There are seven jars and seven bowls of rice, each requiring a recitation of the mantra. Once the ritual equipment is set up absolute silence is observed, except for the recitation of mantras. The day is divided into three sessions of mantra recitation. The evening closes with offerings and circumambulation. The final day is as the first day, closing with a dedication of merit, a final offering and sending away the deity.

There is no mention of fresh clothing, although the vrata performer must clean him or herself. There is also no passage emphasizing the inclusiveness of the ritual, but it is a much shorter work than the AmS and is apparently intended as explication of the ritual implicit in the AmS. In this text, a key feature which is not mentioned in the AmS is the requirement that the practitioner be absolutely silent except for the points in the ritual when he or she is expected to recite mantras. While the ritual

[45] I have in mind a party of Japanese pilgrims who came to visit Kwā Bāhal as part of a general pilgrimage to holy sites in India and Nepal in 1998. [46] This suggests that the tension between bloody offerings and vegetarian offerings was already enoough of an issue in the early stages of the development of Vajrayāna to merit this disclaimer. [47] Unfortunately, it is unclear just what these seven maṇḍalas are. The retinue of Amoghapāśa ordinarily consists of either two (Sudhana and Tārā) or four (Sudhana, Tārā, Hayagrīva, and Bhṛkuṭī) figures.

in the AmS assumes the eight fasting precepts and adds dietary constraints, the *Poṣadhavidhyāmnāya* in clarifying the ritual makes it an even more strenuous practise. The requirement of silence is very much at odds with the ritual as it is presently performed in Nepal, which is a cheerful communal affair with lots of edifying stories. This text may be aimed at the individual performing solitary fasts of the sort described in the biography of Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmī.

5.4.2 Nepal

Not surprisingly, there is a substantial corpus of technical texts found in Nepal, most of which appear to be Newar compositions, describing Amoghapāśa, detailing the correct performance of this vow, and giving collections of stories appropriate to recount during the ritual.[48] To be sure, they draw on the Indian sources and where they can demonstrate continuity they do. Thus the iconography of Amoghapāśa in the *Amoghapāśapūjāvidhi* is identical to that in the *Amoghapāśasādhana* and *Amoghapāśasaṃkṣiptasādhana* of Śākyaśrībhadra, so much so that it is possible to identify a creeping iconographic error. One of the attributes of Amoghapāśa is a *tridaṇḍam*, three long staves tied together. This is a standard symbol of an Indian renunciant.[49] This the Tibetan translators of the *Amoghapāśasaṃkṣiptaśādhana* translate as *dbyug pa rtse gsum*, 'a stick with three points,' which is taken to be equivalent to a triśūla (*rtse gsum*), a symbol of Śiva sometimes taken over in later Vajrayāna iconography. That mistake is perpetuated in the Tibetan and Japanese iconography, however, where the unfamiliar triple rod is frequently converted into the familiar trident. The Newar sculptors have generally avoided this mistake.

One might expect, therefore, that the Newar sources would present a Poṣadha ritual very similar to that in the Indian sources, but in fact they do not. The ritual put forth in the earliest text from Nepal, the *Poṣadhānuśaṃsā*, is already much more complex than Śākyaśrībhadra. The basic structure does not change much between the 15th century and the 17th, or indeed the 20th.[50]

Outline of ritual in Poṣadhānuśaṃsā

The *Poṣadhānuśaṃsā*,[51] or *Benefits of the Eight Precepts*, begins with the Gurumaṇḍala Pūjā.[52] The practitioner then lays out a Buddha Maṇḍala and offers a flower to each of the five Buddhas and their consorts; offers the five substances (*pañcopahāra*); offers water for washing (*arghaṃ*); recites a stotra; and goes for refuge to the Buddhas, using a formula which guarantees the correctness of the transmission:

(F7 l 3) so 'haṃ deśito imām velām upādāya yāvad ā bodhimaṇde niṣadya[a] *buddhaṃ bhagavantaṃ mahākāruṇi(l 4)kaṃ sarvajñaṃ sarvabalo*[b] *bhayātītaṃ mahāpuruṣaṃ abhedyakāyaṃ niruttarakāyaṃ dharmakāyaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi dvipadānām agram* ||	I, who have been taught, from this moment on until I attain the seat of Enlightenment establish myself in the blessed Buddha, greatly compassionate, omniscent, omnipotent and beyond all fear; I go for refuge to the indivisible[a] great Person, the ultimate body, whose body is the Dharma, best of humans.
[a] emend to *niṣadanāt*, following 8v1 [b] em. to –*balaṃ*	[a] In the sense of both indestructible and nondual.

Next the process is repeated for the Dharma Maṇḍala, with the offering to each text of flowers, the five substances and water; then the saying of prayers and the refuge formula. This is all repeated

[48] This literature carries on into the present, with modern publications on the Poṣadha Vrata and others. A very useful example for comparison is Hera Kaji Vajrācārya's *Nepālko Bauddhadharmamā Vasundharadevī* (2001). [49] Apte (1986: p.790a). [50] For ethnographic accounts of the modern ritual see Locke (1987) and Gellner (1992: pp. 220-7). [51] For information on the manuscripts see 6 on page 152. [52] On which see Gellner (1991).

a third time for the Saṅgha Maṇḍala.

Then follows a general prayer to all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and gurus, the confession of faults, delight in meritorious acts and the subsequent components of the usual sevenfold worship; this is followed by the taking of the eight precepts.

Unfortunately at this point the second half of the text is missing; it picks up again with a single line and the colophon on the next extant folio. However, there is enough material here to demonstrate that the text, while concerned with the same general type of ritual, is in fact rather different from the Indian model. Those familiar with the modern Poṣadha vrata in Nepal will recognise that already in this text we clearly have a precursor of the modern ritual, which does indeed involve three maṇḍalas of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, as well as a maṇḍala of Amoghapāśa.

Changes in the Aṣṭamīvratavidhāna

Judging by the number of preserved manuscripts, the *Aṣṭamīvratavidhāna* or *Aṣṭamīvratavidhi* is one of the more popular handbooks for performing the Poṣadha vrata. It is in mixed Sanskrit and Newari, with the instructions and discourses in Newari and the descriptions of maṇḍalas, recitations and so on preserved in Sanskrit. It may date to the 17th century; the manuscript Wilson 533, in the Bodleian, would appear to be an 18th century manuscript, but very few old manuscripts of this text are evident, most dating from the 19th or 20th century. In general, the *Aṣṭamīvratavidhāna* agrees with the earlier text; the overall structure of the ritual, insofar as we can compare it, given the state of the earlier text, is similar although expanded considerably. Rather than embarking on a full exposition of the ritual, which is adequately described elsewhere, I will instead compare a specific element in these two Newar Poṣadha texts, the composition and treatment of the Dharma maṇḍala, as adumbrated in the previous chapter at 4.2.3 on page 107. Please consult page 107 for the illustrations.

Dharma maṇḍala in the Poṣadhānuśaṃsā

The text is unfortunately rather corrupt.

> (F 7v l5) namo dharmāya || sarvalakṣaṇasaṃpūrṇaṃ sarvalakṣaṇavarjitam | samantabhadrakāyāgram bhāṣāmaṇḍalam uttamaṃ || oṃ āryaprajñā(Fr 8r)pāramitāyai vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā || madhye || oṃ āryapañcarakṣayai vajrapuṣpa pratīccha svāhā || oṃ āryai nāmasaṃgītaye vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svā(l 2)hā || oṃ āryagaṇḍhavyūhāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā || oṃ[a] āryadaśabhūmīśvarāya vajrapuṣpa pratīccha svāhā || oṃ āryai samādhirājāya vajrapuṣpa pratīccha svāhā || oṃ āryai saddharmapuṇḍalīkāya va(l 3)jrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā || oṃ āryai lālitavistarāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā || oṃ āryai laṃkāvatārāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā || paṃco(l 4)pacāra pūjā || argha || japa | siktaṃ sādhu sādhu dharmastu sugataprabodatajña[b] || oṃ (?) aupāsika pāranirvānirvānika (!) tasmai dharmaratnāya(l 5) idaṃ puṣpamaṇdalake[c] aupādisamanvitaṃ[d] niryātayāmi || yām[e] āsādya gatā buddhā bhaveyaṃ pāramuttamaṃ tañ ca dharmaṃ ††syāmi sarvasattvārthī(F 8v)sidhya || so 'haṃ deśito imān belām upādāya | yāvat ā bodhimaṇde niṣadanād dharmaśaraṇe[f] gacchāmi virāgrano pravarate[g] | iti dharmamaṇḍalaḥ(l 2)|| 0 ||

[a] this whole phrase is a scribal insertion over the line, unclear but discernable. [b] prabodhitajña [c] maṇḍalakaṃ, by analogy with other occurrences [d] aupapādi? parallel passage below has dvipādi. [e] Presumably yaṃ [f] śaraṇaṃ [g] ?

Translation

Reverence to the Dharma. [This is] the ultimate maṇḍala of speech, highest body of Samantabhadra, replete with every quality and utterly devoid of qualities.[53]

1. Oṃ noble Prajñāpāramitā, accept this vajra-blossom, svāha. (In the middle)
2. Oṃ noble Pañcarakṣā, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.
3. Oṃ noble Nāmasaṃgītī, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.
4. Oṃ noble Gandhavyūha, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.
5. Oṃ noble Daśabhūmīśvara, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.
6. Oṃ noble Samādhirāja, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.
7. Oṃ noble Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.
8. Oṃ noble Lalitavistara, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.
9. Oṃ noble Laṅkāvatāra, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.

[Perform] the pūjā of five substances, [offer] an oblation, and [over that which has been] anointed, recite: sādhu, sādhu, Dharma, knowledge awakened by the Sugata, oṃ befitting, conducive to complete enlightenment. To the Dharma-Jewel, I present this flower appropriate for the spontaneously arisen. May I become that utmost perfect Dharma which past Buddhas have relied upon; I shall (?unclear) for the sake of all sentient beings. As I have been taught, so from this time forward until I attain the seat of Enlightenment, I take refuge in the Dharma (which) was taught by the best of men. This is the Dharma maṇḍala.

[53] Compare the description of the highest form of Avalokiteśvara in the GKV discussed below.

Dharma maṇḍala in the Aṣṭamīvratavidhāna

(f 42)tato dharmamaṇḍalaṃ || pūrvavad anāmikayā maṇḍalasparśanaṃ || gāthā || oṃ śāntaṃ dharmāgrasaṃbhūtaṃ jñānacaryāviśodhakaṃ[a] || samantabhadra kāyāgraṃ bhāṣamaṇḍalam uttamam || pūrvavad vajradūrvākaṃdaṃ nivedayāmi nama iti dūrvākaṃdaṃ nivedya khe puṣpam utkṣipya dhūpayet samanvāhareti || oṃ dharmamaṇḍalabhaṭṭārakāya[b] pādyārghyaṃ pratīccha svāhā || ācamanaṃ pratīccha svāhā || puṣpanyāsa || oṃ āryaprajñāpāramitāyai (f 43) svāhā || oṃ āryagaṇḍavyūhāyai[c] svāhā || oṃ āryadaśabhūmīṣvarāyai svāhā || oṃ āryasamādhirājāyai svāhā || oṃ āryalaṃkāvatārāyai svāhā || oṃ ārya saddharmapuṇḍarīkāyai svāhā || oṃ āryatathāgataguhyakāyai svāhā || oṃ āryalalitavistarāyai svāhā || oṃ āryasuvarṇaprabhāsottamāyai svāhā || pañcopacārapūjā || stotra || prajñāpāramitāṃ nityāṃ praṇārūpavirūpatāṃ || prajñābhāsāṃ sadā vande prajñādevīṃ jagatprabhūṃ || deśanā khaṃ kane || || (f 44) *There follows a dharmaparyāya in Newari.*(f 45) guruṇa julasāṃ . śiṣyayā vacana †[d] . nāo[e] dhanyavada julasāṃ bilaṃ . bho śiṣya . sādhu 2 dhanya 2 dhakam julasāṃ ājñā dattaṃ || puṣpākṣata jalān pādāya || niryātanaṃ || dharmānuśāṃtaṃ[f] gatapraveditaṃ śāstrā aupāyikaṃ pārinairvāṇikaṃ[g] ca[h] || tasmai dharmaratnāya idaṃ pu(f 46)ṣpamaṇḍalaṃ niryātayāmi || bali || oṃ prajñāpāramite mahāpīte mahāśvete mahānīle ratnapaṃkaje . puṣpahaste . idaṃ baliṃ pañcāmṛtāṭikam upabhuṅkṣva . jighra 2 picu 2 prajñā varddhaṇi jvala 2 medhā varddhini dhiri 2 buddhivarddhi varddhini huṃ phaṭ svāhā || || iti dharmamaṇḍalaṃ ||

[a] ms.] jñānaṃ caryāṃ vaśī dhakaṃ, but compare Locke's text. [b] bhaṭṭāraka: should be vocative. [c] By analogy with the Prajñāpāramitā, all the texts are feminine. [d] this could a lost ne [e] thus, *nenāo*; the dot breaking within the word must have been inserted after the word became illegible. [f] ms.] dharmanuśāntaṃ [g] ms.] pāra- [h] cf. Locke: dharmasāgra praveditā śāntopāyikaṃ pāranirmānikaṃ

Translation The text is not entirely clear. I have been helped by consulting John Locke's account of the same ritual, using a related but not identical text, and readers may wish to compare that modern text in which further changes in the ritual are apparent.

> Next, the Dharmamaṇḍala. As before, touch the maṇḍala with the ring finger. [Recite this] verse: 'Oṃ! Peaceful, arisen from the best Dharma, that purifies by the practice of knowledge. [This is] the ultimate maṇḍala of speech, highest body of Samantabhadra. ' As before, offer the sacred grass roots with the phrase 'Reverence, I offer this vajra-grass-root,' then toss a flower into the air and light incense, and make the priestly offering! [Next, offer the oblation, saying] 'Oṃ, excellent Dharma maṇḍala please accept this oblation for the feet, svāhā' [then] 'Please accept this water to sip, svāhā.' [Now perform] the ritual touching with a flower.
>
> 1. Oṃ noble Prajñāpāramitā, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā. (In the middle)
> 2. Oṃ noble Gandhavyūhā, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.
> 3. Oṃ noble Daśabhūmīśvarā, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.
> 4. Oṃ noble Samādhirājā, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.
> 5. Oṃ noble Laṅkāvatārā, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.
> 6. Oṃ noble Saddharmapuṇḍarīkā, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.

7. Oṃ noble Tathāgataguhyā, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.
8. Oṃ noble Lalitavistarā, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.
9. Oṃ noble Suvarṇaprabhāṣottamā, accept this vajra-blossom, svāhā.

[Perform] the pūjā of five substances. [Sing a] hymn: 'Perfect Wisdom, eternal, whose diverse forms are [expressed in] the forms of [every] sentient being, refulgent with wisdom: I praise you always, Wisdom goddess and Queen of the world.' Now give a teaching. (There follows a sermon on the topic of 'What is Dharma?' in Newari) The students utter words (requesting) teaching. The guru, having heard the words of the students, gives them blessing[54] and deigns to say: 'Oh student(s)! It is well, it is well; it is fortunate, it is fortunate.' [Now] the instructions are given. [Give] water with flowers and unbroken rice to the feet. [Make the] presentation, [saying] 'I present this flower-maṇḍala, peaceful in accord with the Dharma, skillful, explained by the Teacher and leading to complete enlightenment, to the Dharma maṇḍala. Now make [the] food-offering, [saying] Oṃ Prajñāpāramitā, great white, great yellow, great blue, red lotus, with a lotus in the hand, please eat this [offering] comprised of the five nectars. Smell! Smell! Taste! Taste! May wisdom increase. Flame! Flame! May intellect increase. Thought! Thought! May there be an increase in understanding. Huṃ phaṭ svāhā' [Here ends the] Dharma maṇḍala.

Discussion

In large measure, the two ritual texts agree, and if we were to include a modern ritual handbook for the same observance, the variations which are apparent — the lack of a formal going for refuge in the *Aṣṭamīvratavidhāna*, for instance — would be smoothed out. Indeed, I suspect that in the hybrid Newari and Sanskrit ritual manuals there is considerable variation, perhaps more than in the rituals themselves. Gellner, comparing his field notes to Locke's description of the Poṣadha vrata, recognises that there are 'local variants.'

Whence the Three Maṇḍalas?

One feature which these two texts share, but which is not evident in any of the Indian sources, is the establishment of a maṇḍala for each of the three jewels. The performance of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha maṇḍalas in these Newar manuals is, however, well supported by material in the non-technical Newar Sanskrit literature. The opening verses of the GKV are an extended meditation on, and hymn to, the three jewels; and similar combinations of contemplation and celebration are found across the Newar Sanskrit narrative literature. Yaśodharā is told constantly to recollect the three jewels; and the MJM also opens with a chapter praising the three jewels (I.108ff). Indeed, the three jewels, understood and hypostatised as Ādibuddha, Prajñāpāramitā, and Avalokiteśvara, recur throughout the iconography and literature of Newar Buddhism. It would appear that there is a sort of reification and cult of the three jewels within mediæval Newar Buddhism, which in itself deserves further exploration. Given that these sūtra texts open with meditations on the *ratnatrayaḥ*, it is not surprising to find an analogous ritual expression.

[54] taking *dhanyavada* as a term like *aśīrvāda*

The Poṣadhavidhi in the *Kriyāsamuccaya*

The plot thickens considerably when we consider the short section on the Poṣadha in the *Kriyāsamuccaya* of Jagaddarpaṇa. This is a mediæval Nepalese[55] ritual compendium which is popular among the Vajrācāryas; however, in all the time that I have been observing or inquiring about the Poṣadha fast, this text has never been mentioned. Here, too, we find the same three maṇḍalas:

tatra vairocanaratnasaṃbhavāmitābhāmoghasiddhi-parivṛtākṣobhyanāyakaṃ maṇḍalaṃ buddhamaṇḍalaṃ || kriyācaryāyoga-yoginītantraparivṛtayoginīniruttaratantra-nāyakaṃ dharmamaṇḍalaṃ[a] *|| maitreya-gaganagañjasamantabhadravajrapāṇimañjughoṣa-sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhikṣitigarbhajñānottara-parivṛtalokeśvaranāyakaṃ saṅghamaṇḍalaṃ ||*

[a] text: -maṇḍalaḥ

There the Buddha maṇḍala is a maṇḍala with Akṣobhya in the centre, surrounded by Vairocana, Ratnasaṃbhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi. The Dharma maṇḍala has the Yoginīniruttara tantras in the centre, surrounded by the Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga and Yoginī tantras. The Saṅgha maṇḍala has Lokeśvara in the centre, surrounded by Maitreya, Gaganagañja, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, Mañjughoṣa, Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, Kṣitigarbha and Jñānottara. (Jagaddarpaṇa 1977: 318)

As the previous section is the Gurumaṇḍala rite, it is clear what is meant when the text subsequently refers to the 'set of four maṇḍalas'; and we thus have the same basic layout as in the *Poṣadhānuśaṃsā* and the *Aṣṭamīvratavidhāna*. However, the content of each of the three maṇḍalas is somewhat different. The Buddha Maṇḍala is simpler, but essentially the same, as in the other texts. In the *Poṣadhānuśaṃsā*, the central figure is Śākyamuni and the four Buddhas at the cardinal points agree with this text. This is coherent with the Ādibuddha theology which marks, for instance, the GKV, where the term *Śrīghana* is used to indicate the Buddha as Ādibuddha. Here in the *Kriyāsamuccaya* we have the orthodox later Vajrayāna placement of Akṣobhya in the centre. The *Poṣadhānuśaṃsā* fills in the intermediate directions with the consorts for each of the Bodhisattvas, which this text omits.

The Saṅgha Maṇḍala agrees in all but the last figure. Where the modern text has Khagarbha and the *Poṣadhānuśaṃsā* has a garbled version of the same name, the *Kriyāsamuccaya* has the name Jñānottara,[56] a curious name indeed, for he is the interlocutor in the *Upāyakauśalyasūtra*, an early Mahāyāna sūtra[57] which makes a robust defense of seemingly inappropriate conduct by bodhisattvas. I have not so far been able to locate another context for this name, which makes it more likely that we have here a reference within the *Kriyāsamuccaya* to the *Upāyakauśalyasūtra*.[58]

The Dharma Maṇḍala here bears no relation at all to the list of nine texts found in all other versions of this ritual. Instead we have a late Indo-Newar typology of Vajrayāna tantras[59], without

[55] The materials cited from the Blue Annals in the introduction to Lokesh Chandra's edition make it clear that that this was a Nepalese text. The translation into Tibetan was initiated by the thirteenth-century Sa sKya pa 'Jam byang bLo gros rGyal mtshan on the basis of a manuscript secured in Nepal, and the textual transmission for the text came from Nepalese Vajrācāryas. Thus the text was discovered rather late by the Tibetans, who had no copies or transmission of the text. As we shall see, internal evidence links the text to Nepalese practices as well. [56] Khagarbha follows Kṣitigarbha in the modern list, where in the *Poṣadhānuśaṃsā* we find *sitigarbha*, then *śatigarbha*. *sitigarbha* is a plausible mistake for Kṣitigarbha; while we do expect to see Khagarbha in this list (see the many identical lists of Bodhisattvas in the *Sādhanamālā*), we must presume something like *kha→ṣa→śa* to explain the odd spelling in the *Poṣadhānuśaṃsā*. [57] For a study and translation see Tatz (1994) [58] Mitra (1996) offers a good conspectus of the eight great Bodhisattvas in Pāla period Orissan monastic architecture, but Jñanottara is never represented; he is also completely absent from the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. [59] This is only significant insofar as it is a far later typology than anything which existed at the time of the development of the Mahāyāna Poṣadha, by the 6th century, so it cannot possibly be an original feature.

any list of individual texts nor any iconographic information. The Dharma Maṇḍala thus seems curiously abstract; there is no clue of how to realize it either as a visualization or a public display.

The enumeration here of classes of Vajrayāna literature may seem to counter the developmental argument I made above at 4.2.3 on page 107; but we must bear in mind first that this text is not a publicly distributed guide, but a handbook for Vajrācāryas with considerably more esoteric material than a simple listing of secret genres; and second, in the absence of any specification of how these categories were to be represented a suitable image could be chosen which emphasized the secrecy and sacrality of these tantras without revealing anything in itself secret. The complete absence of the *navadharma* is the most striking aspect of this text, although it is impossible to draw firm conclusions from this absence.[60]

5.5 The Poṣadha vrata in the Garland literature

Lay vows, as I have observed in chapter 2, are a persistent concern of the Garland texts. For the GKV and the BhKA, the Poṣadha vrata is especially important. Much of the first chapter of the GKV is taken up with a celebration of this lay vow, and the second chapter of the BhKA describes Yaśodharā, wife of Sarvārthasiddha, performing the Poṣadha vrata. In these texts we can see clear references to the specific features of timing and discipline already outlined in the Indian sources.

BhKA

In the second chapter of the BhKA, Yaśodharā, now secretly pregnant with Rāhula, is said to perform the Poṣadha vrata.

> II.5. Subsisting on roots and fruits, the pious lady practised the Poṣadha Observance. She was contented with the five pure foods, [but] occasionally took milk-rice porridge.
>
> 6. In this way, with no desire for flesh-food, she lived as an ascetic, [thinking,] "Is there a woman who partakes of such suffering as I who has been abandoned by such a husband [as Sarvārthasiddha]?
>
> . . .
>
> 234. Taking to heart her husband's instructions, each day the zealous Gopā distributed alms with Mandharā and practised her Observance.
>
> 235. Joyfully, she recited the protective formula, practised recollection of the Three Jewels, subsisted on roots and fruits, and served her parents-in-law.
>
> 236. Clad in white, lovely without ornaments, making the earth her bed, the pregnant Yaśodhara continued to maintain her Observance.[61]

The description given here has remarkably little to do with the body of ritual which has developed from the AmS onwards. While we do see the dietary restrictions,[62] and there is perhaps a reference

[60] The dating of the relevant texts is as yet not firmly established. It is difficult to believe that Jagaddarpaṇa would have omitted the *navadharma* if it was already a feature of the Nepalese Poṣadha ritual at the time this text was composed; although he did, as we have seen, deliberately insert an ideologically loaded figure into a standard list of Bodhisattvas. Thus, while it is tempting to propose a sequence in which the *Kriyāsamuccaya* precedes the *Poṣadhānuśaṃsā* and the emergence of the *navadharma* as a feature of Nepalese Buddhism, there is insufficient evidence to back such a claim. Further, historical sequence is not the only or even the most likely explanation for the lack of the *navadharma* in the *Kriyāsamuccaya*. The lack of iconographic information, on the one hand, and the lack of any mention of this as a source for the ritual's present performance on the other, suggest that this entry in a large ritual compendium was there for completeness, and its idiosyncrasies may well be related to its non-performance. [61] Tatelman (1996). [62] Curiously, as in GKV I.95, there is a consistent shift to a set of five pure foods as against the three white foods prescribed in the AmS.

to the *triratnabhajana* worship which parallels the establishment of the maṇḍalas of the Three Jewels, we get almost no information about the taking of precepts or other characteristic ritual actions. Indeed, even the mantra she is reciting is not the Amoghapāśahṛdaya, but a special protective mantra given to her by her husband. The emphasis here is more on Yaśodharā's asceticism than on any formal ceremony. In no ritual handbook is the affective content of the Poṣadha dwelt upon at all; yet here, even though it is heavily framed with male authority and indeed was probably written by a male author, we have a strong expression of women's asceticism as indeed we did in the biography of Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmī.

GKV

In the first chapter of the GKV, Upagupta describes the Poṣadha vow to Aśoka at some length. (Please consult the translation on page 168 in the appendices.) The GKV is more interested in ritual than the BhKA; Aśoka asks for the specifcs of the performance and timing of the ritual, and it is one of the few moments in the GKV where the Vajrayāna backbone of Nepalese Mahāyāna is visible. So much detail is offered that we can be certain that the ritual described is a Poṣadha of the kind described in the Nepalese ritual handbooks. All four maṇḍalas are clearly present, although unfortunately the GKV does not tell us which version of those maṇḍalas it prefers, and the *triratnabhajana* is mentioned at I.89. There is almost no affective content, and the participants are all male.

5.5.1 The project of the GKV

This is not the only mention of the Poṣadha in the GKV. It does not occur in every chapter, but a reader of the GKV could be excused for thinking it did. In the first chapter Aśoka, the great human emperor, is advised to perform the fast, as is Jinaśrī his Nepalese counterpart; but so too are pretas (III.78), asuras (IV.238 and 249ff), a different group of asuras (V.66), the adhomukhas (VI.33) and even Bali, the king of the asuras (VIII.114). This emphasis tails off, however, and we do not find it mentioned in the episode of the worms of Vārāṇasī or the cannibals of Magadha. It is, however, inserted into the great vision quest of the second *nirvyūha* of the KV, which forms chapter XVI in the GKV (XVI.8). Nonetheless, the successful interpolation of this lay ritual into the narratives which the GKV inherits is one of the most visible transformations which distinguish the Nepalese work from its sources.

The Poṣadha is not the only vrata known to the GKV. The term vrata in the Garland literature is used to refer to vows or precepts as well as lay fasting rituals. The *upāsakavrata* is only mentioned once at III.42, and probably refers to the five precepts for lay Buddhists. Moreover, the text is aware of a *vrataṃ śaivaṃ* (III.191), which probably refers to the Śivarātrī. The terms *bodhicaryāvrata* and *bhadracaryāvrata* occur frequently, usually referring simply to the Bodhisattva vow, as do phrases such as *vrataṃ śubham*. As is proper for a Mahāyāna text, the Bodhisattva vow, which in this text is equivalent to developing the thought of enlightenment, is the single most important vow. When the term *aṣṭāṅgavrata* occurs it means the Poṣadha, understood as the lay fast that requires taking the eight fasting precepts.[63] The Poṣadha is without doubt the most important lay fast for the GKV. However, this ambiguity in the term 'vrata' means that it is understood, as with the Bodhicaryā vrata, as an important step on the path with salvific powers, not simply a ritual for bringing rain, offspring or wealth.

In the 15th century we do know that kings performed vratas, for one of Jayayakṣa Malla's questions when Vanaratna suggests he adopt Buddhism is whether he would still be able to perform the Ekādaśī vrata. It is reasonable, then, for the GKV to recommend that kings perform the Poṣadha

[63] Thus modern Newar explanations of the term *aṣṭamīvrata* are as likely to refer to the eight fasting precepts as they are to the date, although the word clearly refers to a *tithi*.

vrata. The final chapter of the GKV, while it does not mention the Poṣadha itself, is a long list of the material benefits which are found in nations whose kings correctly worship Avalokiteśvara:

> At the right time, the clouds shall rain, and Earth shall be replete with grain. There will be no calamities. There will be tremendous industry and perpetual food stocks. In that land, the cattle will produce abundant milk, the trees will have flowers and fruit and the herbs will always be potent. All living beings will be healthy and long-lived, all suitably provided for, glorious and well-behaved. The king shall be especially pious and the ministers law-abiding. The people shall all be extremely prosperous and accomplished in the Dharma. No one there shall be perverse, a thief, a crook or a swindler, or poor, unlucky, depressed, drunk or arrogant.[64] 126–30

As I argued in chapter 2, the GKV uses its framing structure to present a model of kingship for fifteenth-century Nepal. The ideal Indian Buddhist king was Aśoka; the ideal Nepalese Buddhist king was Jayaśrī. The irreducible loss of continuity with the Indian tradition, and a strong assertion of lineage continuity from that tradition, is signified by the two pairs of kings and their respective rājagurus. Now, given that within the actual narrative that comprises that framing structure, the question which is repeatedly put forward by the two kings is, "How do I correctly perform the Poṣadha vrata?" it is clear that the authors of the GKV wished their audience, including any kings or court officials who happened to listen, to see the Poṣadha as essential to the rituals performed by a Nepalese king. It is the form of devotion to Avalokiteśvara which is most appropriate for a king.

Other kings? The comparative evidence from outside Nepal is tantalizing. I have not been able to extensively research Nara or Heian Japan, when we might expect to see something similar; but so far I have detected no parallel. In the Tibetan cultural sphere the transformation of the Poṣadha after Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmī and the lack of competing sects or cults vitiates the comparison. However, the Indonesian evidence is suggestive indeed. Although we do not see the same ritual structures as in the Nepalese tradition—that is, the four maṇḍalas—the form of the Amoghapāśa maṇḍala as expressed in the Caṇḍi Jago is very similar to the Nepalese Red Amoghapāśa, and we have already seen (5.3.2 on page 129) a reference to the king who built the Caṇḍi Jago as a performer of vratas.

Local deity In any case the GKV makes it clear that it is not simply Avalokiteśvara or Amoghapāśa who is the deity in question, it is Karuṇāmaya, and the arguments of the GKV would not have quite the force that they do if he were not the ancient rain-bringing deity of the Kathmandu Valley. The name 'Karuṇāmaya' does not occur frequently, but it does not have to; and the name 'Bũgadyaḥ' never occurs.[65] Manuscripts of the GKV almost always have an image of the red two-armed form of Avalokiteśvara which is unquestionably Bũgadyaḥ, or rarely his white-hued brother, the Lokeśvara of Jāna Bahāl. As I have argued in the previous chapter, the ritual timing of the Poṣadha vrata was originally linked to the ritual calendar of Bũgadyaḥ. The real punch to the argument of the last chapter of the GKV is its implied threat: the withholding of orderly rain. Thus the argument of the GKV is that if you, the king, want rain, you will have to accept that (1) your rain god is a form of Avalokiteśvara and (2) he requires Buddhist priests to help you perform his ritual.

To achieve this argument, however, the authors of the GKV have engaged in a crucial move of verbal manipulation. Just as I did in the previous paragraph, they depend on the identity of

[64] See Douglas (1997) for an edition of the complete chapter. [65] It will soon become clear why the GKV would want not to use the name Bũgadyaḥ, but there is an in-joke at II.144 where the epithet *kāmarūpa* is used. Bũgadyaḥ is traditionally said to have been brought from Kāmarūpa. The antiquity of the name *būgadyaḥ* is not in question; the two earliest attestations of which I am aware are a caption in an illustrated Prajñāpāramitā manuscript of the 12th century (*bugamalokeśvara*), discussed above, and a sādhana in the *Sādhanamālā* of *śrītrailokyavaśaṅkarāmnāyabhugmalokeśvara* (Sakura 2002: 134–44).

Karuṇāmaya and Bũgadyaḥ for their argument to work. It would appear that one of the hidden challenges for the GKV is to assist in a process which had surely begun long before it was written: the construction of a local form of Avalokiteśvara.

5.6 Karuṇāmaya: Amoghapāśa in Nepal

The name Karuṇāmaya is unique to Nepal; it occurs only in the Newar Sanskrit texts, and it refers to the multilayered and multivalent form of Avalokiteśvara proper to the valley of Nepal. In origin, Karuṇāmaya was born from the mapping of the Indian Buddhist identity of Lokeśvara onto a chthonic deity, Bũgadyāḥ. He is small and bright red, and has been so for many centuries; his image peers out from an illuminated manuscript of the Prajñāpāramitā dated 1015CE. The name 'Karuṇāmaya' occurs almost exclusively in the Newar Sanskrit Buddhist literature.[66] Before that time, as in the Prajñāpāramitā manuscript, he was known as Bugama Lokeśvara; the name also occurs in chronicles from the 14th century. As we have seen, though, there is evidence for an identification of Bũgadyaḥ and Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara in the 13th century and even before. As for the name Karuṇāmaya, the GKV appears to have inherited the term and to be negotiating rather carefully with an established understanding rather than proposing a new label or identification. Unfortunately we do not find the reverse identification so easily; the earliest texts or illustrations of Amoghapāśa in Nepal do not mention either Bũgadyāḥ or Karuṇāmaya. By the 16th century, the identification is commonplace in both directions; but this is, I would suggest, more a problem to do with the emergence of a vernacular literature fully at ease with local traditions than it is evidence for the lack of this identification before the 15th century.

Tibetan evidence The only known instance of the name outside the valley is in the mantra of an Amoghapāśa visualization deriving from Ba.ri Lotsava, mooted at 5.3.2 on page 127. The usual term is *mahākāruṇika*, found for example in the sādhanas transmitted from Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmī. Ba.ri may have been acquainted with the Nepalese cult; but I have only seen this material in Tārānātha's collection and have not yet been able to look at the original texts of Ba.ri or his biography. By itself this pushes the antiquity of the name Karuṇāmaya back to the 11th century, but if, as I suspect, the Ba.ri sādhana is linked to Bũgadyaḥ then we also have further evidence for the regional importance of this cult.

5.6.1 Vertical stratification

Fortunately, Vajrayāna has an elegant means for managing complex religious identities. The GKV uses a hierarchical understanding of how Avalokiteśvara manifests. First there is Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara in public and in history. This, when red, can be identified as the cult image of Bũgadyaḥ. Karuṇāmaya as master of the Poṣadha is Amoghapāśa . According to the GKV, the ultimate form is Ekādaśamukha Śatasahasrabhuja Lokeśvara[67] or, for those beyond the need for iconography, an aspectless ultimate. As D. Gellner has shown, this same hierarchy is worked out in the architectural symbolism of the Newar monastery.

[66] The origins of the name are themselves rather mysterious. *mahākāruṇika* is a standard epithet for Avalokiteśvara and indeed for Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, but the term *karuṇāmaya* does not occur. Curiously *karuṇāmayī* is a Bengali epithet for Sītalā, the smallpox goddess. Given the very close relations between Bengal and Nepal in the Pāla period, the mythical home of Bũgadyaḥ in Assam, and the chthonic origins of both Karuṇāmaya and many local cult forms of the smallpox goddess, I have looked for a link but so far not found anything useful. The female gender of Bũgadyaḥ in certain rituals may also be relevant.

[67] The number of arms alternates between a thousand and a lakh (one hundred thousand); the GKV prefers to give him a hundred thousand arms.

> . . . the three levels of Newar Buddhism, the Disciples' Way, the Great Way, and the Diamond Way, are symbolically and practically represented in the organization of the Newar monastery. On the ground floor, the principal deity of the monastery is held to represent the Disciples' way. The *bodhisattva* Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, in whose name the Observance of the Eighth Day is performed on the upper floor of the monastery, represents the Great Way. The Tantric deity, situated over the main deity, or over the entrance to the monastery, represents the Diamond Way. As argued above, two levels can be discerned within the Diamond Way, one being more exoteric than the other, and functioning as the external representation of the more esoteric form.
>
> It is not merely that there is a hierarchy of levels, but *the gods at the different levels are considered to be forms of each other*. (Gellner 1992: 292-3).

Similarly a hierarchical relationship is worked out in the GKV, which can be divided into three strands: the narrative of Avalokiteśvara rescuing sentient beings; the importance of the Poṣadha (and thus Amoghapāśa); and the secret 6-syllable mantra of Avalokiteśvara. After the first chapter, most of the text is taken up with the heroic exploits of Avalokiteśvara in many disguises. The position of Amoghapāśa, who dominates the first chapter and recurs thereafter, is expressed in chapter II as *śrīmato 'moghapāśasya rūpasaṃdarśaṇaḥ* (II.151); in other words, Lokeśvara manifests himself in the form of Amoghapāśa. The six-syllable form, crucial to the KV, is limited in the narrative of the GKV to the 16th chapter, but is inextricably linked in the popular understanding to this textual tradition. Finally there is, for the GKV alone, an alternation between a formless (*nirākāra*) ultimate form and the eleven-headed, hundred-thousand-armed form.

kulaputra sa lokeśo māyāvī sūkṣmarūpakaḥ |
arūpyadṛśyamāṇo[a] *'pi nirākaro nirañjanaḥ* ||
atha rūpī mahārūpo viśvarūpo mahākṛtiḥ |
ekādaśaśiraskāṃś ca[b] *śatasahasrahastakaḥ* ||
(N2 130)

[a] LC: -maṇye [b] N2: -skandhaḥ

Student, this Lokeśvara has a tricky, subtle form. There is a formless manifestation, without mode or details. If there is also a formed (manifestation), [it is] a great form containing all forms, a vast appearance, and (this is) the eleven-headed (form) with a hundred thousand arms.

The point here is that throughout the GKV we have seen Avalokiteśvara adapting himself to appear in whatever form is appropriate for his audience. When Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin finally breaks down and begs for some iconographic details, this is what he gets: there is a known iconographic type, but it only stands for the utter mutability of Avalokiteśvara. It may well be easier to cling to the formless version.

Iconographic agenda Is this particular arrangement uncontested? Certainly it is put forward thoroughly in the GKV; but in fact, as Hem Rāj Sakya has observed, Ekādaśamukha Śatasahasrabhuja Avalokiteśvara is remarkably rare in Newar iconography and ritual. There are at least three other forms of Avalokiteśvara that need to be considered. First, there is Ṣaḍakṣarī Avalokiteśvara. This is the usual iconographic representation of the great six-syllable mantra of the KV, and the form is mentioned in the GKV but not given any particular importance. Second, there is Hayagrīva. This is an esoteric and wrathful form nowhere explicitly mentioned in the GKV. There are two reasons to query this absence, however. First, the penultimate face of the eleven-headed form is that of Hayagrīva, and thus by implication this aspect of Avalokiteśvara is in play. Second, there is an important Hayagrīva shrine immediately adjacent to the shrine of Bũgadyaḥ in Bũgamati, although not in any of the other shrines associated with Karuṇāmaya. Given the wide range of other epithets and details in which the GKV does indulge, it would seem that the omission of Hayagrīva is

intentional. Finally there is Padmanarteśvara, a very important, albeit secret, form of Avalokiteśvara who is widely venerated among the Vajrācāryas. He is omitted almost certainly for reasons of secrecy. There are of course many other forms of Lokeśvara mentioned or depicted somewhere in the vast inventory of Avalokiteśvara materials and practices which circulate in Nepal, but there is no particular reason to expect to see them in the GKV as there is for these three forms.

Amoghapāśa's position in the text is secure, and there is no sense in which the GKV is seeking to displace him as happened in the Tibetan tradition. Moreover, there clearly is a sense in which Ekādaśamukha Śatasahasrabhuja Avalokiteśvara is a 'safe' highest form of Avalokiteśvara to propound in exoteric rituals as well as a marvellous iconographic expression of the constant and unpredictable salvific exertions of Avalokiteśvara. Thus the absence of two more esoteric forms in the GKV does not necessarily mean that its authors wished to exclude them from the complex deity who is Karuṇāmaya, but it does at least suggest that they thought those forms inappropriate for the audience to whom they were trying to appeal.

5.6.2 Horizontal complexities

Anyone attempting to represent Karuṇāmaya had a second dimension of diversity to manage. Certainly by the time of the GKV, Karuṇāmaya had developed multiple competing cult sites. The story of Bũgadyaḥ's festival relates that there were several Lokeśvaras in Lalitpur, all of whom agreed to have their festivals merged into that of Bũgadyaḥ except Jaṭadharī Lokeśvara. Thus embedded in the origin story is the recognition of at least one pre-existing competitor—fortunately, his festival was merged successfully with that of Bũgadyaḥ. There followed others, including the Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Thimi and Nala Lokeśvaras as well as the (very possibly older) Cobhar Lokeśvara. These all have their proper names and slightly distinctive iconography, and all of them are certainly manifestations of Karuṇāmaya. For this reason, the authors of the GKV would never have used the name Bũgadyaḥ to refer to Karuṇāmaya. Indeed, the composition of a *māhātmya* which found a way to glorify Karuṇāmaya without aggravating the local jealousies that almost certainly existed then, as now, would have been a unifying gesture among the monasteries as well as an expression of solidarity over against their brahminical rivals.

Matsyendranāth A more challenging type of horizontal division arises from the existence of distinct sectarian groups all claiming the same cult icon. Locke (1980) documents how the seventeenth-century Lalitpur kings, who were themselves Vaiṣṇava or Bauddha with a Śaiva lineage deity, managed to negotiate the claims of sectarian Śaivas, especially Nāth Yogis, to a part in the festival of Bũgadyaḥ. This led, according to Locke, to the re-labelling of Bũgadyaḥ as Rato Matsyendranath, although it does not appear to have affected the nature of the encompassing Buddhist deity Karuṇāmaya.[68] There is no point in repeating his arguments here, for the events he deals with fall some centuries after the composition of the GKV. In the light of the historical changes which he describes, however, in chapter II of the GKV we find a highly suggestive epithet. Avalokiteśvara is there (II.140) called *matsyādyambujajantūnām āśvāsanakaraḥ*, "the reassurer of oceanic creatures such as fish". This is clearly a reference to the term Matsyendranāth. An initial explanation is that the process of adding a Nāth name to Bũgadyaḥ in order to accommodate the Śaiva Nāths had already taken place. This explanation seems unlikely to me; the most obvious objection is that in a work where Śiva himself is a missionary working for Buddhism, why would the authors have accommodated to Śaiva Nāths? More interesting is the possibility that the Newar tradition of Matsyendranāth being a Buddhist ācārya is reflected here.[69] It is sometimes assumed that this claim on the part of the Vajrācāryas

[68] Thus in a eulogy of Śrīnivās Malla composed by his rājguru Acyutānanda Rājopadhyāya we find *lokeśaḥ karuṇāmayo 'ruṇanibho matsyendranāthaḥ prabhuḥ* (Pant 1978: v.13). [69] The best account of this is in Wright (1877: 140–1).

only develops after the Śaiva Nāths gain some influence in the rituals of Bũgadyaḥ and is a reaction to a pre-existing mythology in which Matsyendranātha has always been Śaiva. Here, however, we see evidence to the contrary. Vanaratna, according to the inscription recorded by Alsop and Pal (1985: 236-7), had close contact with marginal ascetic groups such as *kuśali*s and *yogi*s, the latter of which may have been Nāths. [70] It is a matter of speculation whether the Nāths of Vanaratna's day were as eclectic as he himself appeared to be; by the 15th century, whatever Buddhist Nāth (or proto-Nāth) lineages may have existed[71] would almost certainly have been extinct. While it is therefore impossible to assess the reaction of contemporary Nāths in Nepal, Karuṇāmaya in the 15th century was already known as Matsyendranāth.

5.7 Summary

The Mahāyāna Poṣadha is an important innovation in the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is designed to appeal to lay Buddhists, especially women, and offers them access to ritualized asceticism. Amoghapāśa, an appropriation of the Vedic deity of oaths and rain, spread rapidly across Asia along with his ritual. In Nepal these rituals took on a distinct local form, including the maṇḍalas of the Three Jewels, centuries before the Garland literature was composed. We saw in the last chapter that at the time of the composition of the GKV, the Vajrācāryas were competing for patronage and prestige with the court Brahmins in the Bhaktapur court. The GKV promotes the Poṣadha as a ritual bound to Bũgadyaḥ, the local rain deity, as a way of arguing for the necessity of Buddhist ritual and the services of Vajrācāryas. In so doing it also engages in the construction of an appropriate public model of Karuṇāmaya, the distinctively Nepalese form of Avalokiteśvara, who includes both Bũgadyaḥ as one of his cult icons and Amoghapāśa as one of his layered manifestations.

[70] White (1996: 96) gives evidence for the presence of Nāths in the Kathmandu valley at the time of Jayasthiti Malla.

[71] White (1996) would deny the existence of any such thing as a Buddhist Nāth, although he is happy to allow for pre-Nāth Buddhist Siddhācāryas doing what the Nāths subsequently did; and by his dating, any such person before the 1250s would have taken Matsyendranāth or Jalandharapa as patriarchs in the lineage.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Within the disparate stacks of evidence for the development of Nepalese Buddhism after 1200, the sudden and explosive production of dozens of similar new Sanskrit texts stands like a red stripe in the accumulated strata. The burst of literary production in 15th century Nepal that yielded the Garland texts marked the beginning of what we now call Newar Buddhism. We do not know when Buddhism first took root in the Kathmandu Valley, nor when any of its distinctive features developed; but the Garland texts anchor historical research. Before the Garland texts, we can speak of the Nepalese tradition within Indic Buddhism; after the Garland texts, we must speak of Nepalese Buddhism.

This was a crucial moment in the decline of Sanskrit Buddhism generally. The Nepalese themselves wrote the last great Buddhist works in Sanskrit. Thereafter the vitality of the tradition expressed itself in the vernacular; but the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* along with its sisters had successfuly folded themselves into the long tradition of Sanskrit works which formed the canon of Nepalese Buddhism. So effective was their surreptitious method of acquiring canonical status that they were routinely assumed to be Indian texts by 19th and 20th century Western and Japanese scholars, who drew on the rich Nepalese evidence in an attempt to understand the history of Indic Buddhism. In part this derived from a misleading projection into the past of 'India', which led to a strange notion of what Indic Buddhism was and where it should be sought. Indic Buddhism is still alive and well in the 21st century, with representative traditions thriving in Bangladesh, Southeast Asia and Śrī Laṅkā as well as Nepal. In part, too, this confusion stemmed from an unwillingness to see Newar Buddhism, with its caste structures and vestigial monasticism, as anything other than degraded, an accidental steward of precious but dead evidence; but that is to ignore the character of later Indic Vajrayāna, the comparative evidence for Himalayan Buddhism and even the Newars' own chronicles, let alone the stubborn and witty Newar Buddhist tradition itself.

As we have seen, it is possible to isolate distinctive features in Nepalese Buddhism which predated its reformulation. Some were genuinely local, such as the cults centred on Svayaṃbhū Mahācaitya and the Red Lokeśvara of Būgamati. The specifically Nepalese Poṣadha rituals or the symbolic canon of the *navadharma* were not of necessity Nepalese—they could as easily have been Kashmirian or Khotanese—but they were only found in the Kathmandu Valley. Thus by pinning down the 15th century re-invention, we are also able to work backwards in time, looking at early Malla and even Licchavi Buddhism. Such research can add to our understanding of historical Indic Buddhism. As we have seen, a study of the ways in which post-15th century Nepalese Buddhists handled the received Indic texts, such as the BCA and KV, can significantly help in traditional text-critical projects. Occasionally we even get hints that elements of Nepalese Buddhism affected other traditions, such as the occurrence of the name 'Karuṇāmaya' in Bari Lotsava's 11th century sādhana; and it is my strong belief that a careful comparison between Nepalese, Khotanese, Indic and Indonesian Buddhism may expose crucial features of pre-9th century Vajrayāna. Finally, a close and careful study of the earlier

Nepalese material together with other evidence can every so often yield information about the beginnings of a cult, as in the case of Amoghapāśa.

However it is Nepalese Buddhism after its re-invention which I hope will become a more coherent and analysable field as a result of the work I have done here. By isolating one of its features, the authorization strategy and attitude towards canonicity, and comparing it with other similar strategies, we have been confronted by the theoretical relevance of the Nepalese material for the study of Buddhism. There is already a solid body of work on contemporary Newar Buddhism, and one intended effect of this study is to free scholars of Newar Buddhism from the need to apologetically nod to the Indic tradition. It is certainly relevant heritage, but the Indic tradition does not determine Nepalese Buddhism after the 15th century; rather, its absence does. Moreover, as more scholars are able to work between classical languages and the Himalayan vernaculars I hope we will begin to produce comparative Himalayan studies which point up the common features of the Newars and other Tibeto-Burman groups of the Himalayas.

Primary sources used

GKV

Sigil	Age	Location	Catalogue reference
N0	1493CE	Nepal	IASWR MBBI-8
N1	1632CE	Nepal	NGMPP G 14/32
T	1720CE	Tokyo	Tokyo 33
W1	1780CE	Cambridge	Cantab. add. 1270
J	1805CE	Jodhpur	Jodhpur 1190
N2	1771	Nepal	NGMPP D 49/4
H2	1820CE	London	RAS Hodgson 19

Figure 6.1: Manuscripts of the GKV used for this edition

Manuscripts

I have relied on 7 manuscripts to compile this edition, having consulted 16 others as well as Lokesh Chandra's printed transcript and the published Newari translation. Worldwide there are perhaps 45 manuscripts, but I have chosen—or have not been able to consult—several of these.

There are no known palm leaf manuscripts of the GKV, and I would be extremely surprised to see one. All of the manuscripts I used for the edition are written in some form of *newa lipi*, with the exception of J in Devanagari. The oldest, N0, is preserved in microfiche at the IASWR. The fiche are not in good condition. N1 is available in microfilm from the NGMPP and is in good condition, although the writing is somewhat cramped. T is a beautiful manuscript written in a more ornamental hand, commissioned by an Asan Tulādhar family. C1 has a number of corrections but no glosses, suggesting that it may have been written out as an exercise or in an atelier, under the supervision of a more senior scribe. I discuss the Jodhpur manuscript in more detail below, but it is the work of a highly competent, if arrogant, pandit completely unfamiliar with Buddhism. N2, although it has mistakes, is written in a clear hand and is useful for its marginalia. Finally H2 was the manuscript of the GKV collected or produced for Brian Hodgson by Amṛtānanda and may be taken to be an example of a good manuscript from the early 19th century, without the revisions which contaminate all subsequent manuscripts.[1]

In working on this text I have found three otherwise unknown manuscripts, one collected by Hodgson for the RAS but never listed in a printed catalogue,[2] and two which were sold on the London art market within the last five years. While none of these had value for a textual editor, all being otherwise uninteresting members of **A**, those that were sold were highly ornamental. I was obliged to photograph the manuscript I refer to as D1, as it had 24 colour minatures. The Paris

[1] NGMPP H 21/2, dated to 1790, appears to be the earliest manuscript which has those new chapter breaks and nserted material; I have not used it for this edition. [2] This is now known as Cowell and Eggeling 19a. A few manuscripts are listed in pencil on the RAS's own copy of the Cowell and Eggeling catalogue.

manuscript, collected by Hodgson and utilized by Burnouf, continues to elude me. I have not consulted all the Japanese manuscripts, assuming that IWAMOTO would have selected the best manuscripts from among those in the Tokyo and Kyoto collections for his edition of chapter 15. I followed his lead by using T. There are also manuscripts in the Buddhist Library of Japan microfilm catalogue which do not correspond to NGMPP holdings; I have not been able to consult those. Finally, the manuscript which Hodgson sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, B.27 in Mitra's catalogue, appears to have been misplaced sometime before 1917, as it is no longer listed in Śāstrī's catalogue and I was not able to locate it in Calcutta.

Stemma

I noted above that the manuscript tradition of the GKV after about 1830 is complicated by the introduction of new versions of the text using different chapter schemes. Before that date it is possible to discern two main branches in the GKV transmission. One side is distinguished by the lack of a half-verse at I.24 and an error at IX.59d.[3] This branch (**B**) includes both the earliest manuscripts, N0 and N1 and their ancestor; all other manuscripts have that half-verse, but the earliest representative of this main branch (**A**) is T, from 1720.

However, as I have tried to document in the edition, it is clear that some of the manuscripts we possess were produced using at least two source manuscripts—hardly surprising for a text with dozens of surviving manuscripts that circulated entirely within the Kathmandu Valley.[4] This is obviously true for J, a manuscript which was secured by a court paṇḍit of the Mahārāja of Jodhpur around 1805. He credited his survival as a Rajput king to his Nāth guru, who duly used his influence to get royal sponsorship for a massive program of collecting Nāth-related materials. In this case, a paṇḍit was dispatched to Nepal to fetch 'the biography of Matsyendranāth', and the GKV is the text he was given to copy. He appears to have found more than one manuscript to work from. The scribe of J must have seen either N1 or a close relative, as he alone follows N1's peculiar reading at I.107b (*jaloruhaiś*) and writes *jalāruḍhaiś*; but he does not follow other variants of **B**or N1 at I.24, I.86 or IX.62. Moreover, he was clearly uncomfortable and unfamiliar with the Buddhist material, emending or simply omitting doctrinal passages. He returned to Jodhpur with a good manuscript and proceeded to make the first half of a presentation copy (Jodhpur 1191) but the project was abandoned. I have also argued, in chapter 2, that the scribe of W1 knew enough to consult a manuscript of the BCA and noted a discrepancy he had encountered.

The relationship among the extant manuscripts in the main branch, **A**, is unclear. T, while extremely clear, is also sometimes idiosyncratic (I.123b); N2 which is a late manuscript with many mistakes, is valuable as it was the working manuscript of Āśā kaji Vajrācārya, one of the greatest 20th century Newar paṇḍits, and contains many marginal notes and emendations.

Other Garland texts

For the *Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa* in its multiple versions I have relied on two published sources and an NGMPP microfilm of the earliest version, as well as a Newari translation (Sakya and Bajracharya 2001).

Most unpublished Garland texts are available in manuscript in the Cambridge University Library collection, where I have consulted them, as well as in the NGMPP collection. I have not attempted to edit texts (or sections of texts) which have not otherwise been edited (see the discussion at 2.1 on 31 for published versions of the *Mahājjātakamālā*, *Ratnāvadānamālā*, and parts of the *Bhadrakalpāvadānamālā* and *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā*.). The BKAM is represented by CUL add. 1411,

[3] *yathodadhiṃ* for *mahodadhiṃ* [4] The Garland literature will, I suspect, prove to be remarkably resistent to the establishment of complete stemmata.

Version	Source
IA	NGMPP D 12/7
IIIB	Śāstrī (1896-1900)
IV	Handurukande (1967): chapter 4 only

Figure 6.2: Sources for the SvP

a complete manuscript in good condition in Newari script; so also the KDAM is represented by CUL add. 1590.

Amoghapāśa ritual texts

Poṣadhānuśaṃsā

The two known manuscripts of the *Poṣadhānuśaṃsā* are both on microfilm: NGMPP B 23/33 and IASWR MBB II-151. NGMPP B 23/33 appears to be a 14th century mansucript in a clear kuṭila script; the IASWR manuscript is also from that period but in a transitional Maithili script. In B 23/33 the folia are numbered f7r-9r, 12. MBB II-151 is a continuous run of leaves (3-5) in a collection of isolated leaves (150, 151 and 152 are all on the same single sheet of fiche). Although neither is complete we are fortunate in that both are identified. The Sanskrit text is somewhat corrupt. For the *Aṣṭamīvratavidhāna*, I used the Bodleian manuscript Wilson 533. This is an undated manuscript which appears to date from the 18th century. The handwriting is an efficient and somewhat cramped Newari lipi. So far as I know the text has never been properly edited, but dozens of manuscripts exist.

Tibetan sources

All the texts I have so far had to consult closely were available in the bKa' 'gyur; I used the Derge edition alone and did not attempt to edit these materials.[5] Whenever I have made use of the catalogues and information available through the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Centre (`www.tbrc.org`) I have indicated this by giving the TBRC reference ID number.

Apparatus and markings.

Except in the case of the GKV I have restricted myself to 'diplomatic transcriptions' as I have been usually been working from single manuscripts. Thus any conjectures or emendations are confined to the footntoes. In the apparatus, text which is $^{\text{elevated}}$ above the line is a scribal addition; text which has a line through it, ~~thus~~ , is a scribal deletion; text enclosed in half-braces is an ⌊emendation⌋ or, if italicized, a ⌊*conjecture*⌋. Where the texts is illegible I have written an obelisk (†) for each illegible letter in the anticipated roman transcription; and if there is a run of, say, five obscure characters, this is portrayed as †. . . † . For the GKV, I have taken more steps to produce a readable text; thus where final ā and o are confused, or medial l and r, I have not bothered to list every instance. The *ṃ* of the manuscripts has been normalized to the appropriate nasal at the end of even pādas and to *m* where it represents *m*, but most manuscripts use the *bindu* liberally and this is reflected in the apparatus. The GKV edition also uses multiple registers of notes to indicate, respectively: variants, notes and glosses, and foliation.

[5] In fact there is a great deal of relevant textual material outisde the bKa' 'gyur and I am steadily assembling these materials.

Translation of GKV I

Invocation

Oṃ! Homage to the glorious Triple Jewel and to all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas! *maṅgalam*

After going for refuge to you, the Cloud of Glory, the Buddha, master of all the worlds, Victor 1
and lord, I will tell the true story of Lokeśa.

Through the blessing arising from devotion to the glorious Goddess, the Blessed, the queen of 2
all dharmas, I will describe the practice of enlightened mind.

I will describe the practice of Lokeśvara which achieves every goal, he who protects this entire 3
world comprised of three realms.

Setting the scene

Long ago there was a great being, a self-aware king named Jinaśrī. He was a son of the Victors, a 4–13
disciplined arhat who had taken refuge in the Triple Jewel. At a certain moment this arhat took up the vow of the Bodhisattva's way at the seat of Enlightenment, the refuge of the Victors,[6] and committed himself to the good of the world. Now in that same place and time Jayaśrī, the self-aware and disciplined wizard, took his seat before the assembly in order to teach the true Dharma. When all the hearers, the monks and chaste students, saw him they came in and took their places so they could drink the nectar of the true Dharma. So also others, bodhisattvas intent on the vow of full enlightenment, joined that assembly in order to drink the nectar of excellent teaching. [There were] nuns and renunciants too, lay Buddhists of both sexes, vow-holders and great men who lived in devotion to the fully enlightened Buddhas; priests, knights and kings, minsters, courtiers, bankers, city dwellers, caravaneers and farmers too; citizens from the countryside, the hills, and the villages, and even people from other countries looking for the qualities of the true Dharma. When all these people had approached the arhat Jayaśrī and worshipped him, they worshipped him and withdrew in an orderly fashion to their places. They placed their palms together, delighted at the thought of drinking the nectar of this good Dharma, and gazing at the teacher they sat down all around him.

The king, great arhat Jinaśrī, a bodhisattva born from the Victors, surveyed all the people gathered 14–7
in the assembly. Wishing to hear a magnification of the qualities of the Triple Jewel, he got up from this place and went before Jayaśrī. He knelt on one knee, throwing his robe over one shoulder, and bowed in añjali at Jayaśrī's lotus feet. Then, respectfully, he asked,

'Good sir, I would like to hear a proper account of the generation[7] of the Triple Jewel. So by explaining it, oh Guru, please enlighten me.'

As good Jinaśrī had asked, the high-minded teacher Jayaśrī considered his audience and began 18–20

[6] *bodhimaṇḍe jināśrame*: On the surface, this refers to Bodhgayā where Śākyamuni Buddha attained enlightenment. While pilgrimage to Bodhgayā was not unknown in medieval Nepal, it is most unlikely that the entire court and population would have gone along with the king. Thus, this refers either to the practice of visualizing an assembly at the time of taking the Bodhisattva vow, or to a localized reconstruction of Bodhgayā in Nepal. Both exist, and there is not much point in deciding between them here. [7] *utpatti*, that is, the process of manifesting a meditative visualization.

to teach.

‘Excellent! King Jinaśrī, concentrate and listen with a clear mind to the good, complete and proper exposition of the generation of the Triple Jewel. Just as my teacher, the yogi Upagupta taught, so I will speak for the good of all people.’

‘Long ago there was a great king, a wheel-turning lord of men name Aśoka, a god among rulers 21-30ab
who upheld the welfare of the whole world. One day, O king, in his longing for the qualities of the true teaching, he wanted for the benefit of the world to hear a panegyric on the qualities of the Three Jewels. Then that king of the land collected materials for worship and, together with his ministers and citizens, set off in a fine mood, with music and festivities, for the Kukkuṭara Monastery, a pure, beautiful and heavenly abode of the Victors.[8] Arriving there, the king, edified, entered and saw the wizard Upagupta together with his retinue. Aśoka bowed happily with an añjali on seeing him and immediately approached him, handed over (his offering) according to ritual, circled him thrice clockwise and bowed before his lotus feet. Hands held together, Aśoka settled in front of him in order to heard the good Dharma. Next, all the rest of the people also approached in an orderly way, bowing before that disciplined arhat, and settled all around him. Emperor Aśoka then looked at all the assembled people. He stood up from his seat and went before the teacher. Arranging his robes, he remained kneeling on the ground, bowed with joined hands to the ascetic and respectfully asked,

‘Good sir, I would like to hear a proper account of the generation of the Triple Jewel. Please, 30cd-33ab
would you explain why it is called the “Triple Jewel”?’

When the king had made his request, the wise arhat Upagupta, born of the Victors, studied the ruler and then began to teach.

‘Excellent! Concentrate, great king, and listen for the sake of the world. I will teach you just as my guru taught me.’

The generated visualization of the Triple Jewel

Long ago there arose a Tathāgata, the reification of the Dharmadhātu, a lord of the world born from 33dc-40
a piece of the Five Buddhas. He was a Great Buddha, a shelter for the world, a teacher of the world, a great god, a Dharma king, a god among sages, an arhat who held the samādhi of Vairocana. He was an omniscent Victor, a master of every spell endowed with all good qualites, a mine of bliss, a Sugata, a limb of the body of Samantabhadra, a great hero with the six special awarenesses, a leader who destroyed the darkness of Mara’s arrogance, the sun of the awareness of complete enlightenment. This Blessed One is known in the world as the Buddha Jewel. The Bodhisattvas who go to him for refuge, taking up the vow of enlightenment for the sake of the world and maintaining good conduct — when they vanquish all the agents of Mara, their persons become stainless, and residing in correct and complete enlightenment they come to the state of complete enlightenment. They, too, are called Buddha Jewels; [they are] all refuges for the world, Tathāgatas, gods among sages, Blessed Ones with vast unusual awareness.[9]

The Blessed Wisdom Goddess, receptacle of every quality, mother of all the Buddhas, radiant 41-4ab
with the awareness of full enlightenment, the dispeller of the darkness of Mara’s arrogance, bestower of the qualities of true Dharma, upholder of every mantra,[10] a Lakṣmī who makes every being

---

[8] This monastery is traditionally associated with the encounter of Aśoka and Upagupta. [9] The term *mahābhijñaḥ* which I here translate as ‘having vast unusual awareness’ is the same term elsewhere translated as ‘Wizard’. [10] *sarvavidyādharī*, a rather resonant epithet. *vidyādharī* (Tib. *rigs dzin*) means in the first instance a master of spells and mantras, but also of every science or sort of knowledge, and is also the name of a standard class of superhuman being. The irony here is that Prajñāpāramitā *is herself* the original vidyā personified; thus, she is both a potent deity who can use and grant the use of such incantations, and also the underlying awareness from which any particular mantra or vidyā derives.

fortunate: this is the sustainer of the true Dharma known as the Dharma Jewel. So too, those well-spoken works such as the Mahāyāna Sūtras which were taught by the Sugatas are also known as the Dharma Jewel.

The Bodhisattva who sustains the true Dharma, master of the world, the great being who is 44cd–49ab
the world's refuge and the absolute lord of all Dharma, dispeller of the darkness arising from the defilements of the miserable, radiant with the awareness of full enlightenment, a wizard capable of taking every form who serves the interests of every living being, world ruler and shining Dharma king, son of the Victors: this is the teacher Lokeśvara, known as the Saṅgha Jewel. Moreover, those great Bodhisattvas with chastened senses, arhats with purified personalities who achieve the awareness of complete enlightenment, dwellers in the four abodes of Brahma who lead lives of good conduct[11] members of the community of the perfect Buddhas, they too are called the Saṅgha Jewel by the Victors.

The benefits of going for refuge

Whoever goes to them (the Three Jewels) for refuge resolute in faith and devotion, constantly 49cd–54ab
delighting in them and always recollecting[12] them night and day — will become great Bodhisattvas, mines of virtue, replete with the achievement of the lustre of truth, whose delight is the welfare of all beings. They will take up the Bodhicaryā vow and always do good in the world. Forever experiencing nothing but happiness, they will finally be reborn in Sukhāvati. Such are the unsurpassable rewards of devotion to the Saṅgha Jewel. Considering this, they should take refuge intent upon its qualities. One purified by this merit will never have a bad rebirth. Continually born only in good realms, he will become a Dharma master.

Whoever go constantly to the Dharma Jewel for refuge, faithfully revering it and listening to 54cd–62
it reverently, they shall all become great beings with good and true personalities, bearers of the radiant bliss of full enlightenment, enjoying the good fortune of all beings. They will take up the life which leads to full enlightenment, always act for the benefit of all beings, experience only true happiness, and finally arrive at the abode of the Sugatas. Such is the choice reward for devotion to the Dharma Jewel; and realizing this, they will take refuge in it and adore it for the goodness resulting thereby. One purified by this Dharma will never again be reborn in a bad realm; after rebirths in good realms only, he will come at last to the domain of the Victors. Any mortal who realizes this and desires the joy of the true Dharma should, during existence,[13] take refuge in the Three Jewels and remain devoted to them. People whose personalities have been purified through the power of this merit undertake the aspiration to full enlightenment and live by the standard of enlightenment. They conduct themselves according to the Bodhisattva's way and, duly completing the Perfections, conquer the four Māras. Their personalities become stainless, without defilements, and these arhats encounter full enlightenment and then attain to the stage of complete Buddhas.

A mortal who understands this and wishes to attain the stage of a complete Buddha should 63–4
himself take the refuges and seek a qualified guru. Sincerely propitiating, satisfying and pleasing the true guru, accept his teachings. Bathe at a pilgrimage ford and take up a vow.

The Poṣadha vow is said by the foremost sages to be the best of vows. Ultimate insight is attained 65–73ab
through the force of its merits. The Buddhas of the past also vanquished the Māras by the force of its merits and arriving at complete enlightenment became Victors; and also all those arhats presently

[11] *bhadracaryāsamācārāḥ*, referring to the *Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna* contained in the last chapter of the *Gandhavyūha*. This contains an early version of the Bodhisattva's vow as well as being one of the first sources for the seven part liturgy which recurs in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and the *Bodhipathapradīpa*. [12] *smṛtvā* here refers not simply to remembering them, but a mental recollection or recitation practice. [13] *bhave* that is, so long as they are reborn within the round of saṃsāra, not just in this present rebirth.

abiding, through the force of its merits attain enlightentment and become Sugatas; and even all the Bodhisattvas yet to be, harnessing this vow, will by the maturation of its merits become as gods among the sages. Likewise others, indeed, any beings at all who conduct themselves according to this vow will all become partakers of enlightenment. (They will all be) stainless and radiant bearers of true virtue with chastened senses, committed to the welfare of all beings, dwelling in the four abodes of Brahma. They shall never suffer evil rebirths in saṃsāra. They will always take rebirth in a good realm and encounter real joys. They will be Bodhisattvas, intelligent and intent upon the virtures of the true Dharma. Gradually accumulating the requisites of enlightenment, completely focussed, they will arrive at the threefold understanding[14] and attain the stage of Nirvāṇa.

Mortals who understand this and long for the state of Nirvāṇa will take up this vow and conduct 73cd-5ab
themselves according to its rituals. They will be purified by its merits and avoid evil rebirths. Always reborn in good realms, they will eventually attain Nirvāṇa.

So my guru taught, and so the best sages taught, and so I have taught you, king: may you be 75cd-8
awakened. If, king, you also wish not to be reborn in the bad realms, always to be reborn in the good realms and even to attain Nirvāṇa, then choose (to perform) this vow called 'Poṣadha' according to its rituals. By the force of its merits you will be purified and surely attain Nirvāṇa.'

Hearing the arhat teacher explain it thoroughly, King Aśoka, lord of men, wanted to take up this vow and approached with an añjali. Bowing thus to the arhat Upagupta, the king and lord of men gladly besought him: "Sir, listening to what you have taught my mind is happy. Therefore I will carry out that Poṣadha, highest of vows. Please give a full description of its ritual, its particular results and the extensive results of merit arising from devotion to the Three Jewels." Thus implored by the king, the wise arhat teacher, restrained, considered the emperor Aśoka and said,"Good! Listen attentively, emperor, if you desire.

"As my guru described (it), so I shall tell it to you. Thus: With a clear mind,[15] he who wants to 84-6
perform this vow, first rises at dawn and bathes at the tīrtha according to ritual. Clean and putting on clean clothing, he sets his mind to the Brahmavihāras. Forswearing meat, alcohol, garlic and the like and adhering to the eight fasting precepts, he observes the Poṣadha vow.

"He should draw the maṇḍala of Śrīmad Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara together with his retinue, using 87-89ab
colours, and adorn it with the five (substances). Establishing it according to ritual, maintaining pure conduct, focussed, first he should worship the guru, and revere him according to ritual.[16] Then he should worship the Three Jewels, revere them and go for refuge.

"Next, meditating on that world lord called Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara with his mind, he should 89cd-94
say his mantra[17]. Then he should respectfully give the foot-washing pot, and happily establish (him) there in the maṇḍala with his retinue, and worship him according to ritual with faith and devotion. Then, with incense, fragrance, good flowers, lamps fed on the five nectars and all the precious substances including gems, he should worship him and satiate him, reciting chants and hymns. He should circumambulate him clockwise many times. Bowing eight times with folded hands, he should request the good vow.[18] Remaining in añjali, he then should make a confession of his sins. There follows the rejoicing in the merits of others. He should remain thus, in a devout frame of mind, for some time, and then request the Bodhisattva vow.

"When he has asked pardon (for any faults), he should disperse the maṇḍala. At the third watch 95-100
of the day[19], he should eat a vegetarian meal comprised of the five nectars and such as he pleases. He should behave attentively; as he has fulfilled the vow, he should guard it joyfully. Working

[14] *trividhāṃ bodhim.* [15] *prasannātma.* The word *prasanna* is used in a variety of ways here, ranging from 'lucid' to 'blithe', but in general it describes an uplifted and cheerful mindset. As is clear from the section describing evil actions, the word can equally well be applied to people doing dastardly deeds with a clear conscience. [16] This refers to the Guru Maṇḍala pūjā. See the discussion at 5.4.2 on page 135 and for a thorough discussion see Gellner (1991). [17] *vākyaṃ* [18] i.e., formally requests to be bound by the eight precepts. [19] Nine hours from sunrise.

for the good of all beings, he should act with a mind (oriented) to enlightenment. Freed from defilements, with his faculties subdued, he (becomes) a bodhisattva, a great being whose object is the good of himself and others. Glorious, dwelling with good qualities, he takes up the Bodhicaryā vow. He always has good rebirths and enjoys health as he pleases. He accomplishes the threefold enlightenment and finally goes to Nirvāṇa. Such is the enormous result of merit arising from this vow that not even all the best sages together could measure it.

"Listen to this, oh king, with a focussed mind: I am going to enumerate the specific rewards 101
which come from the merits generated by performing pūjā to (the Triple Gem).[20]

Verses

If humans wanting merit look upon 102
The Threefold Gem, and, glad, seek shelter there;
Adoring Dharma they'll be lucky and rich,
Committed to the Bodhisattva's way.

With five ambrosias, five infusions sweet 103
Who bathe the Threefold Gem with joyous minds
In Gaṅgā's water, fragrant and holy, they bathe
They shall enjoy such pleasures every day.

Or if they shroud the Triple Gem with clouds 104
Of incense sweet, their minds distinctly joyous,
Endowed with splendour, they're reborn fair limbed
And sweet, minds clarified like shining jewels.

Or should they smear its form with perfumes five, 105
Minds held most clear: these are reborn as kings
On earth. They own their gems, but only crave
The goal of granting every being's goal.

The finest ornaments, cotton flags and more, 106
Who offer these before that Lord who is
The Threefold Gem[21] are born as Dharma lords,
Insightful, limbs all swathed with silks and gems.

Terrestrial blossoms, delicate waterborne blooms 107
Who deck the Triple Gem with finest buds
Are blessed with luck, attainments, glory too;
Divine success they get, delightful things.

Who drape a wreath of choicest blossoms on 108
An image of the Triple Gem, hungry
For Dharma — they are fortunate. For they

---

[20] *tadpūjākṛtapuṇyānām*. The *tad* here, as we will soon see, must refer to the Triple Gem. [21] *triratnanāthāya*, understood here as a *karmadharyasamāsa*. The alternative, 'Lord of the Triple Gem', is both philosophically unsustainable and runs counter to the general sense in these verses that the object of worship is a physical *mūrti* understood in various ways.

Possess that choice success celestial kings
Enjoy, and come to crave enlightenment.

Who scatter every fragrant bloom across 109
An image of the Triple Gem: reborn
In Heaven they are kings, returned to earth
Again they're born as valiant overlords.

Set garlands of lamps atop the Threefold Gem, 110
And they, who split confusion's nets thereby,
Will be reborn in gorgeous forms — they are
Like jewels, their lotus feet revered by kings.

Put lamp donations, burning butter or oil 111
Atop the Triple Gem: their eyes are clear,
They're strong, awash in wealth, they're kings of the kings
in heaven, overlords of earthly lords.

Bring golden tasty foods, as gifts to set 112
Before the Triple Gem and daily hold
Devotion dear: as heroes these are born,
On Earth they're kings, of gods they're kings as well.

Give water with ambrosial zest endowed 113
To set before the Triple Gem: such folk
Become the lords of heavens's thirty-three [22]
Diseaseless earthly kings, strong as can be.

With roots and leaves and fruits, who offer gifts 114
Before the Triple Gem — when they have had
Their endless fill of anything they like,
They go then to the realm of the Well Gone. [23]

Who gather potent[24] therapeutic herbs, 115
And give them, devoted, to the Triple Gem,
They're sleek with fame as earth protecting lords,
Enjoying bliss — then find the Victors' realm.

With betel nuts and leaves and more,[25] who make 116
Elixir off'rings for the Triple Gem —
Are born as fulgent[26] gods. So graceful! what

[22] *tridaśa*, 'thirty', refers to the thirty-three deities who traditionally reside in Indra's heaven. [23] 114-5 indicate the beginnings of the Path; the second reward in each case is not Heaven but a term indicating either a Pure Land, an advanced stage of the Path, or Nirvāṇa, depending on how one chooses to read it. [24] *supathya*: MW gives 'wholesome'
[25] The precise significance of offering betel nuts and leaves is unclear. While in this passage it is obviously devotional, and in other contexts it is erotic, the same offering can be used to establish a formal affine bond, in Newari *twāy pāsa yāyegu*, or even to request teachings. [26] Contrast *śrīguṇininaḥ* here and *śrīsiddhimantaḥ* in 107d. In a worldly context, *śrī* is fame or reputation, hence we might translate 107d as 'famous and accomplished'.

Aesthetic features, legs and hands divine.[27]

Who stretches lofty canopies high above 117
The Triple Gem is honoured by every king,
Becoming wealthy, wise and powerful,
His family will repeat his own renown.[28]

Who run up festive multicoloured flags 118
To celebrate the Triple Gem become
Contently rich and plumply well-reknown'd,
Celestial lords, terrestrial lords as well.

Intent upon the finest zest, those who 119
Erect bright pennants on the Triple Gem
Become the lord of Lady Luck herself[29]
Their foes, enmass'd, are all cast down. On earth
They're overlords, and so in heaven too.

Who decorate the Triple Gem with gold 120
Umbrellas, tents of cotton or of silk,
Who scatter blooms transparently pure in hue
Or peacock feathers[30] on the Triple Gem

They're praiseworthy kings who guard the earth, potent 121
And strong — the good of all beings is their goal.
Replete with gems and wealth, the lords of Luck,
Successful : truly, Dharma is their love.

Compose a service for the Triple Gem 122
With chants and hymns and drums, innumerable drums:[31]
Use barrel drums and tympanies, *ḍholak*s and *ḍhol*s,
*Mṛdaṅga*s, tabors, narrow waisted drums —

Deploy enormous conical drums of war 123
And hourglass drums and shot-rattling bracelets in pairs
And congas and tomtoms and bongos and cymbals and snares

---

[27] 116 returns to the pattern of earthly reward, heavenly reward; but the rewards are not so distinct now as before. There is also, in the use of the term *rasāyanam*, the suggestion of alchemy and thus the ideal body suggested here may be the immortal body sought by alchemical means. See the comprehensive, if flawed, work on Indian alchemical traditions by DG White (1996). [28] Literally, 'will have an extensive lineage' — presumably, composed of similarly fine people. [29] *lakṣmīśvarās* here, plural, forces a choice between 'being the god of Lakṣmī', q.e. Viṣṇu, who is an individual, and some plural version thereof. In this text, as in other path texts, beings lower on the Path sometime incarnate collectively as a single higher being; but here I suspect the conceptual alternation is between incarnation as Viṣṇu the deity and as worldly husbands of Lakṣmī, that is, successful rulers. [30] *mayūraiś*. This is a conjecture. The term may instead refer to medicinal herbs. [31] I must beg the reader's indulgence here. The text includes the names of some twelve sorts of percussion instrument, several of which remain unidentified. I have worked instead to capture the author's obvious pleasure at fitting the names of these instruments into metre. Newar festival bands do indeed consist largely of percussion instruments; the work of Gert-Matthias Wegner on Newar drumming is thorough, yet even he does not list some of these instruments.

Delightful sounds that please the mind and ear.

Delightful tones of vīnas, oboes and flutes 124
Take these, and add a trumpet or two, the cry
of horns, the keen of feazed lutes and slow drones
Together offer praise to the Triple Gem

With music, dance and songs, a triple treat; 125
Auspicious blasts from conches sweetly blown,
The pleasant blare of horns, and rousing dances
Those who thus offer praise to the Triple Gem

To them the ear divine, to them the voice 126
That charms the mind. Successes won for all
Fulfill them; merit born from Dharma true
Delights them. Joy they taste and heaven join.

The flingers of shredded flowers, with mirthful minds, 127
Who toss confetti across the Triple Gem,
Shall never suffer bad rebirths: but bound
For heaven, they enjoy their good rewards.

Or precious metals, gems and cold hard cash: 128
Who offer these before the Triple Gem
Content themselves with easy money and love—
Developing wisdom once their senses are sated.

Around and round a caitya clockwise walk 129
Devoted; worship the Triple Gem with joy
Those acting thus are born in bodies pure,
Find satisfaction as lords of gods and men.

Extol the Triple Gem in metrical verse, 130
Let hymns ascend in sweetly musical forms,
Those acting thus are born as gods of speech
Completed persons, lords in heaven and earth.

Who go for refuge to the Triple Gem 131
And bow, devoted, eight times in a row[32]
Are gods of overlords of men, with gems
And wealth and fame; yet they love Dharma true.

And minds devoted always, having mulled 132
Who go for refuge to the Triple Gem
Become entirely free from sin; they long

[32] *aṣṭābhir aṅgaiḥ*, literally ‘with eight limbs’. Similar expressions often describe the body, conventionally said to have five limbs, or the mental state adopted durign practice. However I have not yet been able to find an appropriate list of eight faculties or qualities, and in the absence of such a list this must simply mean (to bow) ‘eight times’.

For righteous Dharma; they will be Well Gone.

Who think upon the Triple Gem and chant 133
Its name repeatedly will find pure minds
Their pleasure the Dharma of Buddhas completely awake,
So they become utterly free from stain.

Though far away, they spy the Triple Gem. 134
Exalting and devoted they then bow.
Besotted with the righteous Dharma they
Are born fortunate with all three bodies pure.

Consider this — and more: extensive merit that 135
Arisen from devotion and ritual and
Results in better reputation: think!
And be devoted to this threefold thing.

By all the well gone ones it was described, 136
The merit that devoted service to
The Triple Gem derives. So vast! It has
No equal anywhere in all the worlds.

So vast this merit! Plentiful, excellent! Think 137
On it: uncountably, incomprehensibly much.
Oh king, if you desire awakening, go,
Devoted, for refuge in the Triple Gem

Who goes for refuge to the Triple Gem, 138
Who honours it, worships it, always alert—
The threefold virtues thrill them all; they long
For Dharma true; and they will be the sons
And daughters of the Buddhas,[33] every one.

Incessantly supplicant, offering generous gifts, 139
Desiring full awakening, doing their best,
In time adopting the Bodhisattvas' vow
They will awaken: Victors shall they be.

Together with their saṅghas then they grasp 140
The welfare of the triple world and teach
The Dharma. Finishing all a Buddha's tasks,
At last they arrive at Nirvāṇa's ultimate stage.

So then, if you desire to comprehend 141
Extinguishing bliss, you too should undertake
The refuge of the Triple Gem and devote

[33] *sugatātmajāḥ*, 'born from the person of the Sugata', that is, Bodhisattvas. Compare the Tibetan *rgyal sras*.

Yourself to it, forever enlivened with faith.

Deride it not, oh king, confused and proud. 142
The Triple Gem which gives out purity
The lord of the Triple Realm: deride it not!
The righteous Dharma, lord of the wordl, oh king,
Must always be an object of worship for you.

For those from lesser clans who slander it 143
The overproud, the blithe and stubborn souls[34]
Surveying the source of good in the triple world,
These constantly cheerfully slander the Triple Gem.

They all, delighted by evil,[35] unhinged, enjoy 144
Maligning the righteous Dharma, unusually vile.
And when such as these succumb, so they become
Sadistic, gleeful, murderously maddened with pride.

Then cherishing their own evil deeds they dwell 145
Among enormous evils with nary a doubt.
All eloquent Dharma disquisitions they
Attend, they cheerfully, willfully contradict.

Committing such innumerable horrible deeds 146
In malefaction they unceasing persist.
Again and again perfoming heinous acts
Rewarded for perfidy they wind up in hell.

And when they arrive their bodies are smeared with sin 147
And they are deranged by the scorching fires of thirst.
For food they help themselves to human dung,
Though driven by thirst to urine still they thirst.

They are revolted. Terrible is their thirst, 148
So parched by the fiery defilements they go mad.
They linger on, delighted by evil, adrift,
Composure shattered by piercing twists of pain.

Diverging still from that path that frees them from sin 149

[34] *ātmadhairyāḥ*. This is the first mention of a theme which is expanded in 145, 148 and following. There is a sort of good sense, sometimes called 'composure' (*dhairyam*), which a moral agent can lose under such negative influences such as greed or the defilements; once it is lost, the individual will tend toward immoral acts. It is, however, a natural human faculty which returns of its own accord; see 153, where a hell-being nonetheless regains its composure. Here the notion of 'firm composure' twists into stubbornness. [35] *enobhiratāḥ*. The authors here use two words, *enas* and *pāpaḥ*, for 'sin' or 'evil'. *Pāpaḥ* refers to the bad effects, 'bad karma', which accumulates in the personality stream as a result of bad acts; it is this 'sticky' sort of evil which I have translated as 'sin'; it is well exemplified in I.147. *Enas* refers rather to malevolence. However, the poet uses both terms to refer to 'evil deeds', and the distinction between evil actions and the consequences for the karmic stream is not rigorously maintained.

Their minds remain tenaciously stuck in the wrong.
And thus they dwell forever in that realm
Insane, overwhelmed by tortures acute enough. . .

But as for those expecting wealth who go 150
To steal the property of the Triple Gem[36]
To filch or to plunder, then live by their gains—whose minds
By defilements are rent—avaricious brutes!

These evil beings, excited by their sins, 151
Continue indeed performing horrible acts.
Intense unhappiness soon becomes their lot
And dying painfully they wind up in hell.

And there they stay, extremities scorched by the flames 152
Of hunger and thirst. Defilements crack their calm.
They wander about, consuming urine and dung,
And other bodily stuffs, the inmates of hell.

Regaining their composure they perceive, 153
Eventually, the evils they have done.
Repentant they recall the Triple Gem.
Contemplative, gracious, they prepare to bow.

Released from their evils, their bodies rise up and leave 154
Whatever hell was theirs. Then, afterwards,
They win rebirth among humans. Destitute,
Oppressed and utterly pitiable: so shall they be.

Yet even then, they cling to nasty folk, 155
Deriding the Dharma, revelling in sin.
And so it begins all over again:
They do great wrongs and send themselves to hell.

They wander thus among the many planes 156
Enduring miseries, tortured at utmost length.
They never enjoy any joy at all.
Their thoughts are chained to evil; they stay in hell.

The wise have described the truly awful sin, 157
O King, that comes from attacking the Triple Gem.
Consider this, and in this land[37] refrain
From any injury to the Triple Gem.

[36] The worry here is not abstract. Sultan Shams ud-Din of Bengal did indeed sack the major religious shrines of Nepal in 1349. The more specific worry revealed in 157, that the *king* might plunder Buddhist religious institutions, seems less likely but does indicate the tense atmosphere in which this text was composed. [37] *atra*, meaning Nepal. The argument here, as described in chapters 4 and 5, is to do with the status of Buddhism in Nepal.

Take refuge in the Triple Gem, with faith. 158
Delighted and always devoted to it alone.
Forever performing good deeds resulting from this,
You go to join the Sugatas in their realm.

Appropriate times

When he heard this teaching, king Aśoka bowed to his guru and, with his hands held in añjali, said 159-62
"Priest,[38] I have heard your teaching and it gladdens me. Therefore I will go to this (Triple Gem) as a refuge, and I will always revere it. I would also like to permanently adopt the fast of the Triple Gem, with due respect; teacher, would you please instruct (us) in this? In what month should one perform this fasting ritual, and on what day? Please instruct me in the correct understanding of this, sir."

The magnanimous arhat Upagupta heard the king's instructions; he studied the lord of men, and 163
then spoke: "Good! Listen, king, if you want to perform this fast. Just as my teacher instucted me, so shall I speak to you.

"According to the Victors, one should perform the fast in any month at (any of) the five 164-6
transitions.[39] Preferable, however, are the eighth day of the bright half of the month and the full moon day. The month of Śrāvaṇa is best, and Kārttika is very good.

"The ripening merit generated (in this way) is huge, utterly uncountable. Considering this, 167-8
king, once you have taken refuge in the Three Jewels, you should meditate and take up this fasting vow for as long as you live. The mass of merit from this can yield complete enlightenment; it is imperishable and incomparable. So all the Buddhas describe it."

Aśoka and all his people all adopt the Poṣadha fast.

The king meditated when he heard what the arhat had taught. Putting his trust in this exposition, he 169-73
desired to perform the fast, and so the king, a ruler of men, together with his wife and all his relatives, when he had meditated (thenceforth) always performed the fast according to ritual. In accordance with the king's command, all the ministers also (did so) along with the servants, regiments, urbanites, villagers, all the higher castes and so on.[40] So all the people devotedly went for refuge to the Three Jewels, and once they had honoured it and faithfully worshipped it, they happily revered it ever afterwards. There and then a permanent religious festival developed throughout (Nepal), all because of the power of this religious teaching.[41]

(*Jayaśrī finishes his story.*)

"Just as I have heard what my teacher taught, just so do I repeat it (here). Gentlemen are happy 174-5
always performing this fast; by its merits they are purified, and their three maṇḍalas are purified. Arhats with stainless personalities attain complete awakening."

The śrāvakas heard what clear-minded Jayaṣrī had described, and all of them were happy to be 176-9
instructed. Beginning then, with a clear heart and lofty mind the king Jinaśrī went for refuge to the Three Jewels and performed this fast ever after. Thus the saṅgha and the ascetics also, who dwell

[38] *bhadanta* [39] *pañcasu parvasu*: Obscure. The four parvans are the new moon, full moon, and the eighth or fourteenth days of the bright and dark halves of the month. [40] *dvijādayaḥ*, the three higher varṇas and so forth. [41] *nirutpātaṃ etaddharmānubhāvataḥ*, taking *dharma* as something like *dharmadeśana*.

in the four Brahma realms,[42] did worship the Triple Gem and performed this fast constantly. Then all those who kept the fasting vow became arhats with stainless personalities who had purified the three maṇḍalas and enjoyed awakening.

Whoever arranges that others will hear an acccount
Of worldy benefits sought from the Triple Gem;
What mortals, too, there are to listen
Uplifted by faith and devotion, filled with joy;
They all become completely wealthy,
Their reputations grow, their wisdom too.
Enjoying happiness finally they depart
For that domain of beings with tenfold strengths,
The Buddhas' realm, which they will enjoy at last.

[42] *tat saṅghā yatayaś cāpi caturbrahmavihāriṇaḥ*. The constituencies here are interesting; it's not clear whether this means 'Buddhist monks and lay meditators' or 'Buddhist monks and non-Buddhist ascetics'. There is plenty of evidence to support either interpretation. Vanaratna and any other well trained Buddhist paṇḍit woudl have known that the four Brahma realms are not the exclusive property of the Buddhists; any competent *tīrthaka* yogi could also realize them.

How the GKV Borrows the BCA

Chapters VIII and XVIII of the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* include extensive citations from the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. It appears from the consistent divergence of the manuscripts of the GKV from all published editions of the BCA, that the citations were drawn from an otherwise unknown manuscript tradition of the BCA. This is an edited extract intended to show the nature of the divergences; I have numbered from the beginning of the BCA citations, which begin at VIII.135, starting with 1, and printed information for verses 1–23, 29 and 34–36; verses 24-28 and 30-33 are identical in the GKV and BCA. This is not an attempt to re-edit the BCA based on the new material. I have not consulted the Chinese or Tibetan versions in preparing this material, and it is intended only to show the degree to which the BCA tradition which was available in the 15th century to the authors of the GKV differs from the Sanskrit tradition we now have. After this, there is a short extract (VIII.76-9 and 86) to give a sense of how the adaptation from first to second person narrative is achieved.

In looking at the variations, some appear to represent a lost but coherent ms. tradition (e.g., 20) and some are typical Newar Buddhist Sanskrit simplifications (e.g., 11). It is curious that J alone recognizes some readings from the BCA tradition against all other manuscripts; on the uneasy assumption that these do genuinely represent agreement between an otherwise unknown branch of the GKV tree that J saw and the printed editions of the BCA, I have printed the J and BCA reading and relegated the GKV reading to the apparatus.

Manuscripts and sigils: Mn = Minayeff's 1889 edition of the BCA (Minaev 1889). Mss used by Minayeff: L$_1$ = India Office Library, from Hodgson. L$_2$ = Cambridge, Cowell and Eggeling #13. M = Another manuscript consulted by Minayeff. Ś=Dvārikādās Śāstrī's edition of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and *pañjikā* (Śāstri 1988). Vai = Vaidya's edition (Vaidya 1960) . LVP = de la Vallée Poussin's edition (Śāntideva et al. 1901-1914) J = Jodhpur 1190 (c. 1805). T = Tokyo 33. N1 = NGMPP G14/23+ (1632). N2 = NGMPP D49/4 (1770). W1=CUL 1270 (1770?).

I have indicated the BCA verse number in subscript after each verse, or after each half or quarter-verse if the GKV is borrowing smaller units. Where there is no difference in the two texts I have simply written, for example, 29=4.22.

tac[43]citta[44]ratnagrahaṇāya samyakpūjāṃ karomy eṣa tathāgatānāṃ | N1 71r J I.53v
saddharmaratnasya ca nirmalasya buddhātmajānāṃ ca guṇākarāṇām[45] || 1$_{2.1}$ N2 53r T 65v
yāvanti puṣpāṇi phalāni caiva bhaiṣajyajātāni ca yāni santi | W165v
ratnāni yāvanti vasanti[46] loke jalāni ca svacchamanoramāṇi || 2 $_{2.2}$ J 54r T 66r
mahīdharā ratnamayās tathānye vanapradeśāś ca vivekaramyāḥ |
latāḥ[47] supuṣpābharaṇojjvalāś ca drumāś[48] ca ye satphalanamraśākhāḥ || 3 $_{2.3}$
devādilokeṣu ca gandhadhūpāḥ kalpadrumā ratnamayāś ca vṛkṣāḥ |
sarāṃsi cāmbhoruhabhūṣaṇāni haṃsasvanātyantamanoharāṇi[49] || 4 $_{2.4}$
akṛṣṭajātāni ca śasyajātāny anyāni vā pūjyavibhūṣaṇāni |
ākāśadhātuprasarāvadhīni sarvāṇy apīmāny aparigrahāṇi || 5 $_{2.5}$
ādāya buddhyā munipuṃgavebhyo niryātayāmy eṣa saputrakebhyaḥ |

[43] N2, T: sa W1: sac [44] Ś: omits -tta- [45] Mn Ś Vai guṇodadhīnām [46] W1 ca santi [47] latāḥ supuṣpa- N2 sugandhapuṣpa- [48] W1 *omits* ca drumāś [49] L$_2$ N2 W1 ramāṇi

gṛhṇantu tan me varadakṣiṇīyā mahākṛpā[50] mām anukampamānāḥ || 6 2.6
apuṇyavān asmi mahādaridraḥ pūjārtham anyat mama nāsti kiñcit |
ato mamārthāya parārthacittā[51] gṛhṇantu nāthā idam ātmaśaktyā || 7 2.7 W1 66r
dadāmi[52] cātmānam ahaṃ jinebhyaḥ sarveṇa sarvaṃ ca tadā[53]tmajebhyaḥ |
parigṛhaṃ me kurute[54] 'gre sattvā yuṣmāsu dāsatvam[55] upaimi[56] bhaktyā || 8 2.8 N1 71v
parigraheṇāsmi bhavatkṛtena nirbhīr[57] bhave sattvahitaṃ karomi |
pūrvaṃ ca pāpaṃ samatikramāmi nānyac ca pāpaṃ prakaromi bhūyaḥ || 9 2.9 N2 53v T 66v
saṃbuddhadharmasaṅgheṣu[58] caityeṣu pratimāsu ca |
puṣparatnādivarṣāś ca pravartantāṃ nirantaram || 10 2.21
bodhisattvā mahāsattvāḥ[59] pūjayanti yathā jinān |
tathā sarvān munīndrāṃs[60] tān saputrān pūjayamy ahaṃ || 11 2.22
svarāṅgasāgaraiḥ stotraiḥ staumi cāhaṃ guṇodadhīn |
stutisaṃgītimeghāś ca saṃbhavantv eṣu ananyathā || 12 2.23

verses 13–19 omitted; no significant variation from the text of BCA 2.24–30, save that 18.N1 varies interestingly from 29, putting paścād bāhyena for paścāttāpena. J(13) 54v

anekadoṣaduṣṭena mayā pāpena mohinā[61] | T: 67r
yat kṛtaṃ dāruṇaṃ pāpaṃ tat sarvaṃ deśayāmy aham || 20 2.31
kathaṃ ca niḥsarāmy asmān nityodvigno 'smi sāṃpratām[62] | 2.32cd
mā bhūt me mṛtyur acirād akṣīṇe pāpasaṃcaye || 21
kṛtākṛtāparīkṣo 'yaṃ mṛtyur viśrambhaghātakaḥ | N2: 54r
svasthāsvasthairaviśvāsya ākasmikamahāśaniḥ || 22 2.34
priyāpriyanimittena pāpaṃ kṛtam anekadhā |
sarvam utsṛjya gantavyam mayā [63] na jñātam īdṛśam || 23 2.35
apriyā na bhaviṣyanti bhaviṣyanti na me priyāḥ |
ahaṃ ca na bhaviṣyāmi sarvaṃ ca na bhaviṣyati || 24 2.36
tat tat smaraṇatām yāti yad yad vastv anubhūyate |
svapnānubhūtavat sarvaṃ gataṃ na punar īkṣyate || 25 2.37 J I.55r
ihaiva tiṣṭhatas tāvaj jatā kecit[64] priyāpriyāḥ | 2.38ab
tannimittaṃ kṛtaṃ pāpaṃ tad eva me puraḥsthitaṃ[65] || 26
evam agantuko 'smīti mayā naivam samīkṣyate [66] |
mohānunayavidveṣaiḥ[67] kṛtaṃ pāpam anekadhā[68] || 27 2.39
rātriṃ divam aviśrāmam āyuṣo vardhate vyayaḥ |
āyasya hyāgamo[69]nāsti na māriṣyāmy ahaṃ kathaṃ[70]|| 28 2.40
29 = BCA 2.41.
yamadūtair gṛhītasya kuto bandhuḥ kutaḥ suhṛt[71] | N1:72v T:67v
puṇyam ekam tadā trāṇaṃ mayā tan naiva saṃcitaṃ[72] || 30 2.42
anityajīvitāsaṅgād itthaṃ[73]bhayam ajānatā |
pramattena mahāndhena [74] bahu pāpaṃ mayārjitaṃ[75] || 31 2.43
aṅgacchedārtham apy anyo nīyamāno viśuṣyati |

[50] N2 kıpā (!) [51] L_2 Vai N1 W1 cintā N2 -cintān [52] W1 dadāti [53] W1 tathā [54] Mn N1 J W1 kurutā N2 kuruto [55] N1 as ed. Vai (?) N2 W1 J yuṣmān sadā sattvam [56] T N2 upaiti [57] L_2 N2 nirbhī M nirbhir [58] Ś sarvasaddharmaratneṣu [59] Ś mañjughoṣaprabhṛtayaḥ [60] Ś tathāgatān nāthān [61] N2 mohitā; Ś Mn Vai nayakāḥ; L_2 -kaḥ [62] Ś Mn LVP Vai saṃvaraṃ [63] Vai Mn except M (see ed.) iti [64] Vai LVP gatā naika [65] Mn Vai 2.38cd: tan nimittaṃ tu yat pāpaṃ tat sthitaṃ ghoram agrataḥ [66] so N1. Mn Vai na mayā pratyavekṣitaṃ M mayā na pratyavekṣitaṃ J T N2 mayā caivam samīkṣyate. The pañjikā has *mayā pratyavekṣitaṃ*. [67] Mn follows M mohā; $L_{1,2}$ differ. [68] J T N2 anekaśaḥ [69] Vai Mn cāgamo [70] Mn Vai kiṃ nv ahaṃ. The pañjikā cites *kiṃ nu* [71] T N2: suhṛtsukhāḥ [72] Mn Vai tac ca na sevitaṃ [73] Ś Mn Vai idam [74] Mn Vai 2.43 mayā nāthā [75] Vai LVP upārjitaṃ

pipāsito dīnadṛṣṭir anyad evekṣyate[76] jagat || 32$_{2.44}$
kiṃ punar[77] bhairavākārair yamadūtair adhiṣṭhitaḥ |
mahātrāsajvaragrastaḥ[78] purīṣotsargaveṣṭitaḥ || 33$_{2.45}$
kātarair netravikṣepaiś[79] ca trāṇānveṣī caturdiśam |
ko me mahābhayād asmāt sādhus trātā bhaved iha[80] || 34$_{2.46}$
trāṇaśūnyā diśo dṛṣṭvā punaḥ[81] saṃmoham āgataḥ[82] | N2:54v
tadāhaṃ[83] kiṃ kariṣyāmi tasmin sthane mahābhaye || 35$_{2.47}$
adyaiva śaraṇaṃ yāmi jagannāthān mahābālān |
jagadrakṣārtham udyuktān sarvatrāsaharān[84] jinān || 36$_{2.48}$

We here skip forward to GKV VIII.76, where citations begin from BCA 4, in order to show the way in which the GKV casts first person material from the BCA into the second person. I have given VIII.76-9 and 86 as a short sample of the kinds of changes which the authors of the GKV wrought.

tasmād[85] gṛhītvā sudṛḍho bodhicittaṃ jinātmajaḥ |
śikṣānatikrame yatnaṃ kuryān nityam atandritaḥ || 76$_{4.1}$
tvayāpi[86] ca yathāśakti tatra kiṃ parilambyate |$_{4.3cd}$
nādya cet kriyate yatnaṃ[87] talenāpi[88] talaṃ vrajet [89]|| 77$_{4.12cd}$
yadi caivaṃ pratijñāya sādhayeyaṃ karmaṇā |
etān sarvān visaṃvādya kā gatis te[90] bhaviṣyati || 78$_{4.4}$
manasā cintayitvā tu[91] yo na dadyāt punar naraḥ |
sa preto bhavatīty uktam alpamātre 'pi vastuni || 79 $_{4.5}$

yadīdṛśaṃ kṣaṇaṃ prāpya punaḥ sīdasi[92] mohitaḥ |$_{4.23c,24b}$
śociṣyasi[93] ciraṃ bhūyo yamadūtaiḥ pracoditaḥ |$_{4.25cd}$
ciraṃ dhakṣyati te[94] kāyaṃ nārakāgniḥ suduḥsahaḥ || 86$_{4.25ab}$

---

[76] Vai LVP evekṣate [77] N1 T N2 duṣṭair *J as ed.* [78] T N2 –jvala– [79] Mn Vai dṛṣṭipātaiś [80] Mn trāṇaṃ kariṣyati M sādhu trāṇaṃ kariṣyati L2 sādhus trāṇaṃ bhaviṣyati Ś Vai trāṇaṃ bhaviṣyati [81] N1 puraḥ [82] N2 saṃmohito viṣī N1 saṃmohito vidhiḥ T saṃmohito vidhī *J as ed.* [83] N1 madāhaṃ [84] N1 –trāsahañ [85] Mn Vai evaṃ [86] Mn Vai mayāpi [87] Mn Vai yatnas [88] Mn Vai –āsmi [89] Mn Vai gataḥ [90] Mn Vai me [91] Mn Vai api [92] Mn Vai sīdāmi [93] Mn Vai sociṣyāmi [94] Mn Vai me

Bibliography

Ryūichi Abé. *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the construction of esoteric Buddhist discourse*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1999.

N. J. Allen. 'And the Lake Drained Away': An essay in Himalayan comparative mythology. In Alexander Macdonald, editor, *Maṇḍala and Landscape*, number 6 in Emerging Perceptions in Buddhist Studies, pages 435–451. D.K. Printworld, New Delhi, 1997.

Ian Alsop. Phagpa Lokeśvara of the Potala. *Orientations*, 21(4), Apr 1990. reprint available on the internet.

Ian Alsop. Licchavi Caityas of Nepal: A Solution to the Empty Niche. http://www.asianart.com/alsop/licchavi.html, 2001.

Amarasimha. *Amarakośa*. Chowkhamba Vidyabhavan, Varanasi, 1995.

Vaman Shivaram Apte. *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Rinsen Book Company, Kyoto, 1986.

Michael Aris. *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: a study of Pemalingpa (1450- 1521) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683-1706)*. Kegan Paul, London, 1989.

Prabod Chandra Bagchi. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya and some minor texts from the school of Matsyendranātha*. Number 3 in Calcutta Sanskrit Series. Metropolitan Printing and Publishing House, Calcutta, 1934.

Naresh Man Bajracharya. *Buddhism in Nepal (465 BC to 1199 AD)*. Eastern Book Linkers, Delhi, 1998.

Christopher I. Beckwith. *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia: A History of the struggle for great power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs and Chinese during the early Middle Ages*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey, first paperback edition, 1993.

Cecil Bendall. *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1883.

Benoytosh Bhattacarya. *Sādhanamālā*. Number 29,41 in Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Oriental Institute of Baroda, Baroda, 1968. Sādhanamālā; 2 vols.

Benoytosh Bhattacarya. *Niṣpaṇṇāyogāvalī of Abhayākaragupta*. Number 109 in Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Oriental Institute of Baroda, Baroda, 1972. Manuscript published by Lokesh Chandra in Śatapiṭaka. The published edition has some mistakes.

N. K. Bhattasali. *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahminical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*. 1929.

Raoul Birnbaum. *The Healing Buddha*. Shambala, Boston, revised edition, 1989.

Otto Böhtlingk and Charles Rieu. *Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*. Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, St. Petersburg, 1847.

G. M. Bongard-Levin and O. F. Volkova. *The Kuṇāla Legend and an Unpublished Aśokāvadānamālā Manuscript*. Indian Studies Past and Present, Calcutta, 1965.

Martin Boord. *The Cult of the Deity Vajrakila*. Number 4 in Buddhica Britannica Series Continua. The Institute of Buddhist Studies, Tring, UK, 1993.

Horst Brinkhaus. References to Buddhism in the Nepālamāhātmya. *JNRC*, 4:273–86., 1980.

Horst Brinkhaus. A Short Note on the Older Vaṃśāvalīs of Nepal. *JNRC*, V/VI:199–202, 1983.

Horst Brinkhaus. *The Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī Legend in Nepal: A Study of the Hindu Myth of the Draining of the Nepal Valley*. Number 32 in Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1987.

Horst Brinkhaus. The Textual History of the Different Versions of the "Svaya dmbhū Purāṇa". In Gérard Toffin, editor, *Nepal Past and Present*, page ? CNRS, Paris, 1993.

Horst Brinkhaus. Tolerance and Syncretism in the Religious History of the Kathmandu Valley. In Siegfried Lienhard, editor, *Change and Continuity: Studies in the Nepalese Culture of the Kathmandu Valley*, number VII in Orientalia, pages 137–147. CESMEO, Turin, 1996.

John Brough. Legends of Khotan and Nepal. *BSOS*, 12:333–9., 1947-1948a.

John Brough. Nepalese Buddhist Rituals. *BSOS*, 12:668–76., 1947-1948b.

John Brough. The Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts. *BSOAS*, 16:351–75., 1954.

Gudrun Bühnemann. *Sādhanaśataka and Sādhanaśatapañcaśikā : two Buddhist sādhana collections in Sanskrit manuscripts*. Number 32 in Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde. Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, Vienna, 1994.

Eugène Burnouf. *Introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien*. Number 3 in Bibliothèque orientale. Maisonneuve, Paris, 2nd edition, 1876.

Lokesh Chandra. *Kāraṇḍavyūha and other texts*. Number 268 in Śata-Piṭaka. Sharada Rani, New Delhi, 1981.

Bijan Raj Chatterjee and Niranjan Prasad Chakravarti. *India and Java. Part II, Inscriptions*. Number 5 in Greater India Society Bulletin. Greater India Society, Calcutta, 1933.

George Churinoff, Lama Thubten Zopa Rinpoche, and bsKal-bzang rGya mtsho, HHDL VII. *Nyung Nä: The means of achievement of the eleven-faced great compassionate one, Avalokiteśvara*. Wisdom Publications, Cambrudge, Massachssetts, 1995.

G. Coedès. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*. University Press of Hawai'i, Honolulu, 1968.

Steven Collins. On the very idea of the Pali Canon. *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, XV:89–126, 1990.

A. Conrady. Ein Sanskrit-Newari Wörterbuch, aus dem Nachlässe Minayeff's herausgegeben. *ZDMG*, 47:214–26, 1893.

E. B. Cowell and J. Eggeling. Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society (Hodgson Collection). *JRAS*, 8:17–52, 1876.

Ioan Culianu. System and History. *Incognita*, 1:7–17, 1992.

S. R. Das. A Study of the Vrata Rites of Bengal. *Man in India*, 32(4):207–45, 1952.

Ronald M. Davidson. The Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī - Text and Translation of Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti. *MCB*, 20:1–69, 1981.

J. Duncan M. Derrett and Jayarakṣita. *A Textbook for Novices: Jayarakṣita's 'Perspicuous Commentary on the Compendium of Conduct by Śrīghana'*. Indologica Taurinensia, Turin, 1983.

Wendy Doniger. *Dreams, Illusion, and Other Realities*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1984.

Will Douglas. *History and Cult of the Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*. M.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1997. Contains edition and translation of Chapter 19 of the GKV.

Will Douglas. Guṇakāraṇḍavyūhayā Sāhityaka 'Srota. In Vajrarāja Śākya, editor, *Nepālamaṇḍalayā Bauddha Saṃskṛti Sammelana 1119: Chagu prativedana*, pages 251–260. Lotus Research Centre, Lalitpur, Nepal, 1998. (English original available at Lotus Research Centre website at http://skywebsite.com/lrc/papers/cbhnm-ppr-8.htm).

Will Douglas. Washing Your Neighbour's God: Royal ritual in 14th century Nepal. In Marie Lecomte-Tilouine and Pascal Dolfus, editors, *Proceedings of the 1998 European Bulletin of Himalayan Research Conference, Meudon*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002. European Bulletin of Himalayan Research.

Keith Dowman. *Masters of Mahamudra: Songs and histories of the eighty-four Buddhist Siddhas*. SUNY, Albany, New York, 1985.

Franklin Edgerton. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1985. In two volumes. Volume 1 is the grammar, v.2 the dictionary.

Helmut Eimer. *Location List for the Texts in the Microfiche Edition of the Phug brag Kanjur, Compiled from the Microfiche Edition and Jampa Samten's Descriptive Catalogue*. Number V in Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica, Series Maior. International Instititute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo, 1993.

T. S. Eliot. What is a Classic? In T. S. Eliot, editor, *On Poetry and Poets*, pages 53–71. Faber and Faber, London, 1944. Lecture delivered in 1944 to the Vergil Society.

Franz-Karl Erhard. A Renovation of the Svyambhunath Stupa in the 18th century. *AN*, 114:1–9, 1989.

Franz-Karl Erhard. Further renovations of Svayambhunath Stupa (from the 13th to the 17th centuries). *AN*, 123-5:10–20, 1991.

Léon Feer. Le livre des cent légendes. *JA*, pages 141–89, 1879.

J. Filliozat. Catalogue des manuscrits sanskrits et Tibétains de la Soci 'eté Asiatique. *JA*, CCXXXIII: 1–81, 1945.

Alfred Foucher. *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde d'après des documents nouveaux*. E. Leroux, Paris, 1900.

Richard G. Fox. *Realm and Region in Traditional India*. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 1977.

E. Frauwallner. Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārthasaṃgraha dh. *WKSO*, 3:140–4, 1959. extract from a longer article. Includes corrects to Tucci:1947.

Marc Gaborieau. *Minorités Musulmanes dans le Royaume Hindou de Népal*. Laboratoire d'Ethnologie, Nanterre, 1977.

Adalbert Gail. The Amoghapasa - Lokesvara in Orissa. In Klaus Karttunen and Petteri Koskikallio, editors, *Vidyarnavavandanam:Essays in Honour of Asko Parpola*, pages 161–166. Finnish Oriental Society, Helsinki, 2001.

David N. Gellner. The Newar Buddhist Monastery - an anthropological and historical typology. In Niels Gutschow and Axel Michaels, editors, *Heritage of the Kathmandu Valley. Proceedings of an international conference in Lübeck, June 1985*, number 4 in Nepalica, pages 365–414. VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, Sankt Augustin, 1987.

David N. Gellner. Ritualized Altruism, Devotion and Meditation: The Offering of the Guru Maṇḍala in Newar Buddhism. *IIJ*, 34:161–97, 1991.

David N. Gellner. *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and its Hierarchy of Ritual*. Number 84 in Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992.

David N. Gellner. Śākyas and Vajrācāryas: From Holy Order to Quasi- Ethnic Group. In Declan Quigley and David N. Gellner, editors, *Contested Hierarchies: A Collaborative Ethnology of Caste Among the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal*, pages 209–239. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995.

David N. Gellner. A Sketch of the History of Lalitpur (Patan) with Special Reference to Buddhism. *CNS*, 23(1):125–57 plus map, 1996.

Carlo Ginzburg. *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland, 1992.

Richard Gombrich. *Theravada Buddhism: A social history from ancient Benares to modern Colombo*. Routledge Kegan Paul, London, 1988.

Richard Gombrich. How the Mahāyāna Began. In Tadeusz Skorupski, editor, *The Buddhist Forum:Seminar Papers 1987-8*, pages 21–30. SOAS, London, 1990a.

Richard Gombrich. Recovering the Buddha's Message. In Tadeusz Skorupski, editor, *The Buddhist Forum:Seminar Papers 1987-8*, pages 5–20. SOAS, London, 1990b.

K. Goshima and K. Noguchi. *A Succinct Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the possession of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University*. Kyoto, 1983.

Niels Gutschow and Axel Michaels. *Heritage of the Kathmandu Valley. Proceedings of an international conference in Lübeck, June 1985*. Number 4 in Nepalica. VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, Sankt Augustin, 1987.

Janet Gyatso. *Apparitions of the Self: The secret autobiographies of a Tibetan visionary*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1998.

Michael Hahn and Gudrun Bühnemann. *Der grosse Legendenkranz (Mahajjatakamala) : eine mitteralterliche buddhistische Legendensammlung aus Nepal*. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1985.

G. Haloun and W. B. Henning. The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light. *Asia Major*, III:184–212, 1952.

Ratna Handurukande. *Maṇicūḍāvadāna, being a Translation and Edition and Lokānanda, a Transliteration and Synopsis*. Number XXIV in Sacred Books of the Buddhists. Pali Text Society, London, 1967.

Ratna Handurukande. The Benefit of Caitya Worship. In L. Prematilleke, J. E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, and K. Indrapala, editors, *Senarat Paranavitana Commemoration Volume*, pages 75–77. E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1978.

Ratna Handurukande. *Five Buddhist Legends in the Campū Style from a Collection Named Avadānasārasamuccaya. IeT 4*. Indica et Tibetica Verlag, Bonn, 1984.

Ratna Handurukande. *The Supriyasārthavāhajātaka*. Indica et Tibetica Verlag, Bonn, 1988.

Ratna Handurukande. *Three Sanskrit Texts on Caitya Worship*. Number XVI in Studia Philologica Buddhica. International Institute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo, 2000.

Paul Harrison. In Search of the Source of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur: A reconaissance report. In Per Kvaerne, editor, *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes 1992*, volume 1. The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Oslo, 1994.

Bikrama Jit Hasrat. *History of Nepal, as told by its own and contemporary chroniclers*. VV Research Institute Press, Hoshiarpur, 1971.

Russell Hoban. *Riddley Walker*. Picador, London, 1982. Picador reprint of 1980 Jonathan Cape ed.

B. H. Hodgson. Notices of the Languages, Literature, and Religion of the Bauddhas of Nepal and Bhot. *Asiatick Researches*, XVI:409–49, 1828. reprinted with changes in Hodgson (1841) and Hodgson (1874).

B. H. Hodgson. *Illustrations of the Language and Literature of the Buddhists*. Serampore, 1841.

B. H. Hodgson. *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepāl and Tibet; together with further papers on the geography, ethnology, and commerce of those countries*. Trübner & Co., London, 1874.

John Huntington and Dina Bangdel. A Case Study in Religious Continuity: The Nepal-Bengal Connection. *Orientations*, 32(7):63–70, Sep 2001.

Ron Inden. The Ceremony of the Great Gift (Mahādāna):Structure and historical context in Indian ritual and society. In Marc Gaborieau and Alice Thorner, editors, *Asie du Sud: Traditions et changements*, number 582 in Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, pages 131–136. Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1979.

Yutaka Iwamoto. Simhalasārthavāhoddhārana. *Bukkyo Setsuwa Kenkyo*, 33:236–323, 1974. Edition from Kyoto mss. of chapter 15 of the GKV.

Jagaddarpaṇa. *Kriyāsamuccaya*. Number 237 in Śata-piṭaka. International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1977. facsimile of a manuscript in the collection of Raghu Vira reproduced by Lokesh Chandra.

Padmanabh S. Jaini. The Story of Sudhana and Manoharā: An Analysis of the Texts and the Borobudur Reliefs. *BSOAS*, 29:533–58., 1966.

R. C. Jamieson. *The Perfection of Wisdom*. Frances Lincoln, London, 2000.

J. J. Jones. *The Mahāvastu*. Number XVI,XVIII,XIX in Sacred Books of the East. Pali Text Society, London, 1949. reprinted 1972, 1987.

Hans Jørgensen. *A Dictionary of the Classical Newārī*. Number XXIII.1 in Historik-filologiske Meddelelser. Levin
& Munksgaard, København, 1936.

Hans Jørgensen. *A Grammar of the Classical Newārī*. Number XXVII.3 in Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser. Ejnar Munksgaard, København, 1941.

L. M. Joshi. The Tathāgata-guhya-sūtra and the Guhya-samāja- tantra. *JOIB*, XVI:138–43, 1966.

Pandurang Vaman Kane. *History of Dharmaśāstra (Ancient and Mediaeval Religious and Civil Law). Gov't Oriental Series, Class 3, No. 6. Vol. III. 2nd ed.* Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1973.

Bernhard Kölver. Actives into Ergatives, or Newārī into Sanskrit. In Helmut Eimer, Michael Hahn, Maria Schetelich, and Peter Wyzlic, editors, *Studia Tibetica et Mongolica: Festscrhift Manfred Taube*, number 34 in Indica et Tibetica, pages 189–206. Indica et Tibetica Verlag, Swisttal-Odendorf, 1999.

Bernhard Kölver and Hemraj Sakya. *Documents From the Rudravarṇa-Mahāvihāra, Pā dtan*. Number 1 in Nepalica. VGH Wissenschaftverlag, Sankt Augustin, 1985.

Sten Konow. Aparamitāyuḥ Sūtra. ???? Contains Khotanese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan versions of the text, with English translation. The Sanskrit and Khotanese are critical editions.

Hugo Kreijger. *Kathmandu Valley Painting: The Jucker collection*. Serindia, London, 1999.

Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp. *Contributions to the development of Tibetan Buddhist epistemology :from the eleventh to the thirteenth century*. F. Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1983.

Banarsi Lal. *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti with Am drtakaṇikā-ṭippaṇī and Amṛtaka dnikodyota-nibandha*. Number XXX in Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica. CIHTS, Sarnath, 1994.

Janice Leoshko. The Appearance of Amoghapasa in Pala-Period Art. In A. K. Narain, editor, *Studies in Buddhist Art in South Asia*, pages 127–135. Books India, New Delhi, 1985.

Sylvain Lévi. *Le Népal: Étude Historique d'un Royaume Hindou*. Number 17-19 in Annales de Musée Guimet. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1905.

Robert I. Levy and Kedar Rāj Rājopādhyāya. *Mesocosm: Hinduism and the organization of a traditional Newar city in Nepal*. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, indian edition, 1992.

Todd T. Lewis. Mahāyāna Vratas in Newar Buddhism. *JIABS*, 12, 1:109–38., 1989.

Todd T. Lewis. A Chronology of Newar-Tibetan Relations in the Kathmandu Valley. In Siegfried Lienhard, editor, *Change and Continuity: Studies in the Nepalese Culture of the Kathmandu Valley*, number VII in Orientalia, pages 149–166. CESMEO, Turin, 1996.

Todd T. Lewis. *Popular Buddhist Texts from Nepal: Narratives and rituals of Newar Buddhism*. SUNY, Albany, New York, 2000.

Siegfried Lienhard. *Nevārīgītimañjarī: Religious and Secular Poetry of the Nevars of the Kathmandu Valley*. Alquist & Wiksell, Stockholm, 1974.

Siegfried Lienhard. Relgionssynkretismus in Nepal. In H. Bechert, editor, *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*, number I in Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, pages 146–177. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1978.

Siegfried Lienhard. Avalokiteśvara in the Wick of the Night-Lamp. *IIJ*, 36:93–104., 1993.

Siegfried Lienhard and Thakur Lal Manandhar. *Nepalese Manuscripts. Part 1: Nevārī and Sanskrit (in the) Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin*. Number XXXIII,1 in Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1988.

Erberto F. Lo Bue. The role of Newar scholars in transmitting the Indian Buddhist heritage to Tibet (c. 750 - c. 1200). In Samten Karmay and Philippe Sagant, editors, *Les habitants du Toit du monde*, pages 629–658. Société d'ethnologie, Nanterre, 1997.

John K. Locke, SJ. *Rato Matsyendranath of Patan and Bungamati*. Number 5 in Tribhuvan University Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Historical Series. University Press, Kirtipur, Nepal, 1973.

John K. Locke, SJ. *Karunamaya: The Cult of Avalokitesvara-Matsyendranath in the Valley of Nepal*. Sahayogi Prakashan, Kathmandu, 1980.

John K. Locke, SJ. *Buddhist Monasteries of Nepal*. Sahayogi Prakashan, Kathmandu, 1985.

John K. Locke, SJ. The Upoṣadha Vrata of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara in Nepal. *L'Ethnographie*, 83: 159–89., 1987.

Donald Lopez. *Buddhist Hermeneutics*. University of Hawai'i - Kuroda Institute, Honolulu, 1988.

Jeremiah P. Losty. *The Art of the Book in India*. British Library, London, 1982.

N. G. Majumdar. Nalanda Inscription of Vipulasrimitra. *EI*, XXI:97–101, 1907.

N. G. Majumdar. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, volume III. The Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal, 1929.

Yukei Matsunaga. *The Guhyasamāja Tantra, a new critical edition*. Toho Shuppan, Inc., Tokyo, 1978. Other eds.: GOS no. 53, 1931, ed. Bhattacarya; BST no.9, ed. S. Bagchi.

Seiren Matsunami. *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library*. Suzuki Research Foundation, Tokyo, 1965.

Robert Mayer. *A Scripture of the Ancient Tantra Collection: The Phur-pa bcu- gnyis*. Kiscidale, Oxford, 1996.

R. O. Meisezahl. The Amoghapāśahṛdayadhāraṇī: The early Sanskrit manuscript of the Reiunji, critically edited and translated. *Monumenta Nipponica*, 17:265–328, 1962.

R. O. Meisezahl. Amoghapāśa. Some Nepalese Representations and their Vajrayānic Aspects. *Monumenta Serica*, 26:455–97, 1967.

Adelhard Mette. Remarks on the Tradition of the Kāraṇḍavyūha. In K. N. Mishra, editor, *Aspects of Buddhist Sanskrit: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Language of Sanskrit Buddhist Texts, Oct 1-5, 1991*, pages 510–519. CIHTS, Sarnath, 1993.

Adelheid Mette. *Die Gilgit-Fragmente des Karandavyuha*. Number 29 in Indica et Tibetica. Indica et Tibetica Verlag, Bonn, 1997.

I. P. Minaev. Śāntideva: "Bodhicaryāvatāra". *Zapiski*, 4:153–228, 1889.

Debala Mitra. An iconographic study of the figures of eight great Bodhisattvas in Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri in Orissa. In Debala Mitra, editor, *Explorations in the Art and Archaeology of South Asia: Essays dedicated to N.G. Majumdar*, pages 353–391. Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta, 1996.

Rajendralal Mitra. *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*. Cosmo, New Delhi, 1981.

Michael Muhlich. Credit Relations in Nepal: Social embeddedness and sacred money. *EBHR*, 17: 69–101, 1999.

G. K. Nariman. *Literary history of Sanskrit Buddhism from Winternitz, Sylvain Levi, Huber*. D. B. Taraporevala sons & co, Bombay, 1920.

Jan Nattier. Church Language and Vernacular Language in Central Asian Buddhism. *Numen*, 37(2): 195–219, 1990.

Jean Naudou. *Les Bouddhistes Kaśmīriens au Moyen Age*. Number LXVIII in Annales du Musée Guimet: Bibliothèque d'Études. Musée Guimet, Paris, 1968.

Kate O'Brien. Candi jago as a mandala: symbolism of its narratives part 1. *RIMA*, 22(2):1–61, 1994.

Kiyoshi Okano. *A Descriptive Bibliography of Sanskrit Literary Works of Buddhists*. Sendai, Tokyo, 1998.

Bruce McCoy Owens. *The Politics of Divinity in the Kathmandu Valley: The Festival of Bungadya/Rato Matsyendranath*. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1989.

Pratapaditya Pal. The Iconography of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. *OA*, 12,13:234–9, 1967.

Pratapaditya Pal. *Art of Nepal*. Los Angeles County Museum of Art; University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1985.

Pratapaditya Pal. *Indian Painting*. Los Angleles County Museum of Art; University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1993.

Pratapaditya Pal and Julia Meech-Pekarik. *Buddhist Book Illuminations*. Ravi Kumar, Hong Kong, 1988.

Janardan Shastri Pandey. *Bauddhastotrasaṃgrahaḥ*. Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1994.

Mahesh Raj Pant. Śrīnivās Mallasambandhī Tātkālika Aprakaśita Abhilekha. *Pūrṇimā*, 41:23–30, 1978.

Anne Mackenzie Pearson. *"Because it gives me peace of mind" : ritual fasts in the religious life of Hindu women*. SUNY, Albany, New York, 1996.

Luciano Petech. Ya-T'se, Gu-ge, Pu-raṅ: A New Study. *CAJ*, XXIV(1-2):85–111, 1980.

Luciano Petech. *Mediaeval History of Nepal (c.750 - 1482)*. Number LIV in Serie Orientale Roma. IsMEO, Rome, 2nd, thoroughly revised edition, 1984.

Declan Quigley. Śreṣṭhas: Heterogeneity among Hindu patron lineages. In Declan Quigley and David N. Gellner, editors, *Contested Hierarchies: A Collaborative Ethnology of Caste Among the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal*, chapter 3, pages 80–108. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995.

Constantin Regamey. Randbemerkungen zur Sprache und Textuberlieferung des Kāra dnḍavyūha. In Johannes Schubert and Ulrich Schneider, editors, *Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, pages 514–527. O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1954.

Constantin Regamey. Motifs Vichnouites et Sivaites dans le Kāraṇḍa Vyūha. In *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcel Lalou*, pages 411–432. Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Paris, 1971.

Constatin Regamey. Lexicological Gleanings from the Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra. *Indian Linguistics*, 16: 1–10, 1957.

D. R. Regmi. *Medieval Nepal*. K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1968.

Dudjom Rimpoche, Michael Kapstein, and Gyurme Dorje. *History of the Nyingma School*. Wisdom, Boston, Massachussetts, 1991.

Samdong Rimpoche and Vrajvallabha Dvivedi. *The Vasantatilakā of Kṛṣṇācārya with the commentary Rahasyadīpikā of Vanaratna*. Number 7 in Durlabha Bauddha Granthamālā. Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, India, 1990.

George N. Roerich. *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*. K.P. Jataswal Research Institute, Patna, 1959.

George N. Roerich and Gos Lotsaba. *The Blue Annals*. Motilal Banarsidas, New Delhi, 2nd edition, 1976.

Ruriko Sakura. *Sādhanamālā: Avalokiteśvara Section*. Adroit Publishers, Delhi, 2002.

Hemraj Sakya and T. R. Vaidya. *Medieval Nepal: Colophons and inscriptions*. TR Vaidya, Kathmandu, 1970.

Min Bahadur Sakya. *Ārya Amoghapāśa Sūtra*. Nagarjuna Institute of Buddhist Studies, Lalitpur, Nepal, 1992.

Min Bahadur Sakya. *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*. Nāgārjuna Centre for Exact Method, Lalitpur, Nepal, 1997.

Min Bahadur Sakya and Santa Harsha Bajracharya. *Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa*. Nagarjuna Institute for Exact Method, Lalitpur, Nepal, 2001.

Singh Sanghasena. *A Study of the Sphuṭārthā Śrīghanācārasaṃgraha-ṭīkā*. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 2/e edition, 1983.

Rahula Sāṅkṛtyāyana and Michael Torsten Much. *A visit to Rahula Sankrtyayana's collection of negatives at the Bihar Research Society: texts from the Buddhist epistemological school.* Number 18 in Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde. Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, Vienna, 1988.

Śāntideva. *The Bodhicaryāvatāra.* World's Classics. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995. trans. Kate Crosby and Andrew Skilton.

Śāntideva, Praj nākāramati, and Louis de La Vall̃ee Poussin. *Prajñākaramati's Commentary to the'Bodhicaryāvatāra' of Śāntideva, Edited withIndices.* Number 983, 1031, 1090, 1126, 1139, 1305 & 1399 in Bibliotheca Indica. Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1901-1914.

Soewito Santoso. *Sutasoma: A study in Javanese Wajrayana.* Number 213 in Śata-Piṭaka. International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1975.

Hari Prasad Śāstrī. *Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa.* Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1896-1900.

Hari Prasad Śāstrī. *A Catalogue of Palm-Leaf and Selected Paper Mss. Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal.* Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1905-1916.

Hari Prasad Śāstrī. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Collection.* Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1917.

Swāmi Dwārikādās Śāstri. *Śāntidevaviracita Bodhicāryāvatāra.* Bauddha Bharati, Vārānasī, 1988.

Gregory Schopen. Burial *ad sanctos* and the Physical Presenceof the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism. *Religion*, 17, 1987.

E. Senart. *Mahāvastu.* Paris, pub. unknown, 1892-7. Mahāvastu; also edited by S. Bagchi as BST No. 14, Darbhanga; tr. J.J. Jones, London 1949-64 in 3 vols.

Gregory Sharkey, SJ. *Daily ritual in Newar Buddhist shrines.* DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1994.

Bardwell Smith. *Religion and the Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos, and Burma.* South and Southeast Asia Studies. ANIMA Books, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, USA, 1978. Religion and the Legitimation of Power inThailand, Laos, and Burma.

J. S. Speyer. *Avadāna-çataka: A century of edifying tales belonging to the Hīnayāna.* Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1958 Indo– Iranianreprint edition, 1906-9.

John S. Strong. *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta: Sanskrit Buddhism in North India and Southeast Asia.* The University Press, Princeton, 1992.

Kanga Takahata. *Ratnamālāvadāna: A Garland of Precious Germs, or a collection of edifying tales told in a metrical form belonging to the Mahāyāna.* Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, 1954.

Stanley J. Tambiah. *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A study of Buddhism and polity in Thailand against a historical background.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976.

Kashinath Tamot and Ian Alsop. A Kushan-period Sculpture from the reign of Jaya Varma- A.D. 184/ 185, Kathmandu, Nepal. http://www.asianart.com/articles/jaya/index.html, 1996.

Tārānātha. *The Seven Instruction Lineages.* Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, 1983.

Tārānātha. *History of Buddhism in India.* Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1990.

Tāranātha and Lama Thubten Zopa Rimpoche. *Yidam Gyatso'i Drub Thab Rinchen Jung Nä*. Wisdom Publications, London, 1983.

Joel Tatelman. *The Trials of Queen Yaśodharā: an edition and translation of* Bhadrakalpāvadāna *chapters I-V*. D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1996.

Mark Tatz. *The Skill in Means Sūtra (Upāyakauśalyasūtra)*. Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1994.

Gérard Toffin, editor. *Nepal Past and Present*. CNRS, Paris, 1993.

Anthony Tribe. Manjusri:Origins, Role and Significance, Part 3. *Western Buddhist Review*, 1:?, 1994. reprinted on the Internet.

Giuseppe Tucci. La redazione poetica del *Kāraṇḍavyūha*. *Atti della Reale Accad. delle Scienze di Turino*, LVIII:605–30, 1923.

Giuseppe Tucci. The Sea and Land travels of a Buddhist Sadhu in the Sixteenth Century. *IHQ*, VII: 683–702, 1931. partial and poor translation of the *rnam thar* of sangs.rgyas.sbas.pa.

Giuseppe Tucci. *Rin c'en bzaṅ po e il Rinascimiento del Buddhismo nel Tibet Intorno al Mille*. Number II in Indo-Tibetica. Reale Accademia d'Italia, Rome, 1933.

P. L. Vaidya. *'Bodhicāryāvatāra' of Śāntideva with the commentary 'Pañjikā' of Prajñākāramati*. Number 12 in Bauddhasaṃskṛtagranthamālā. Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, 1960.

P. L. Vaidya. *Mahāyānasūtrasaṃgraha*, volume 1 of *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*. Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, 1961.

Amogha Vajra Vajrācārya. *Lokeśvarayā Paricaya*. Lokeśvara Saṅgha, Kathmandu, NS 1066 (1946 CE).

Āśākāji Vajrācārya. *Śrī Karuṇāmaya Buṅgama Lokeśvarayā Stotra*. Triratna Seva Khalaḥ Samitiyā, Lalitpur, Kathmandu, Nepal, 1992.

Asha Kaji Vajrācārya. *Bũgadyo Nepāle Haḥgu Khã*. Self-published, 1980.

Dhanavajra Vajrācārya. Śaktiśālī bhārādāra Rāmavarddhanaharū ra tātkālika Nepāla. *Pūrṇimā*, 7(2:3): 12–36, 1965.

Dhanavajra Vajrācārya. *Itihās saṃśodhan ko pramāṇ-prameya*. Lalitpur, 2019 VS.

Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Kamal Prakash Malla. *The Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*. Number 8 in Nepal Research Centre Publications. Franz Steiner Verlag, Weisbaden, 1985.

Divya Vajra Vājrācarya. *Ācārya Śāntidevayā Bodhicayāvatāra, Prajñākaramatiyāgu Pañjikā sahita*. Bodhi Prakāśan Kendra, Kathmandu, 1986. Sanskrit of root verses; Newari translation of root text and commentary.

Gautama Vajra Vajracarya. An interpretation of two similar Nepalese paintings in the light of Nepalese cultural history. In Niels Gutschow and Axel Michaels, editors, *Heritage of the Kathmandu Valley. Proceedings of an international conference in Lübeck, June 1985*, number 4 in Nepalica, pages 29–42. VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, Sankt Augustin, 1987.

Gautama Vajra Vajracarya. The Adaptation of Monsoonal Culture by Rgvedic Aryans: A Further Study of the Frog Hymn. *EJVS*, 3(2), 1997.

Hera Kaji Vajrācārya. *Nepālko Bauddhadharmamā Vasundharādevī.* Buddhirāj Vajrācārya, Lalitpur, 2001.

Henry Vaughan. *The Complete Poems.* Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1976.

Anne Vergati. *Gods, Men, and Territory: collected essays.* Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, New Delhi, 1995.

Roberto Vitali. *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang Acccording to mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs by Gu.ge mkhan.chen Ngag.dbang grags.pa.* Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang lo.gcig.stong 'khor.ba'i rjes.mdzad sgo'i sgrig tshogs.chung, Dharamsala, 1996.

Alexander von Rospatt. On the Conception of the Stūpa in Vajrayāna Buddhism: The example of the Svayaṃbhūcaitya of Kathmandu. *JNRC*, XI:121–47 and plates, 1999.

Alexander von Rospatt. *The Periodic Renovations of the Thrice Blessed Svayambhūcaitya of Kathmandu.* Habilitationsschrift, Universität Hamburg, 2000.

Alex Wayman. *Chanting the names of Mañjusri: the Mañju 'srinamasamgiti.* Shambala, Berkeley, 1985.

David White. *The Alchemical Body: Siddha traditions in Medieval India.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1996.

Maurice Winternitz. *History of Indian Literature.* The University Press, Calcutta, 1927-1933.

Daniel Wright. *History of Nepal: Translated from the Parbatiyā by Munshī Shew Shunker Singh & Pandit Shrī Gunānand.* The University Press, Cambridge, 1877.

Turrell Wylie. *A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal.* ISMEO, Rome, 1970.

Taikō. Yamasaki and David Kidd. *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism.* Shambala, Boston, Massachussetts, 1988.